


Monograph 001



Social Value System in India

Looking back to go ahead

N.S.S. Narayana



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Abstract

This monograph deals with the complex mixture of values in the arena of political, social and economic issues in India. It looks at the values enunciated in Hindu classical texts, believed to have been guidelines since ancient times, traces changes in them over time up to the present, and sees whether the changes, if any, have led to permanent and significant social gains. Several topics are covered, but only briefly. They include the basic tenets of Hinduism, social role of customs and traditions, theories on evolution of caste system, necessity of political governance, economies, public administration, public works and finance, poverty and inequality, domestic and international trade, status of women, property rights, education styles, etc. A brief discussion follows on the concept of "happiness". After looking at the nature of changes that occurred over time, we argue that though for centuries together Indian thought had been mainly concerned with stability and sustainability of the ecology, environment and a humane society in general, yet one cannot say that the entire social value system of India based on traditions is superior to that of the West. However, neither the ancient Indian methods nor the modern Western methods could really solve the perpetual social maladies such as poverty, malnutrition, social inequalities, illiteracy, etc. Besides, while striving for 'better social welfare' the modern methods seem to have created a lot more fresh problems related to sustainability. Any value system, old or modern, is worthwhile only if it can ensure that our future generations will enjoy their lives at least the way we have been doing.

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यस्य नास्ति स्वयं प्रज्ञा शास्त्रं तस्य करोति किं,
लोचनाभ्यां विहीनस्य दर्पणं किं करिष्यति?

*yasya nAsti svayaM praj~jA SAstraM tasya karOti kiM,
IOchanAByAM vihInasya darpaNaM kiM kariShyati |*

(What can the subject treatises do to those who have no original aptitude?
What can the mirror show to the blind! - Chanakya Neeti)

Introduction

This work deals with the complex mixture of values in the arena of political, social and economic issues in India. It looks at the values enunciated in Hindu classical texts, believed to have been guidelines since ancient times, traces changes in them over time up to the present, and sees whether the changes, if any, have led to permanent and significant social gains.

We restrict our attention to "Hindu" values. For almost all the Hindu traditional beliefs, customs and traditions as observed today, roots lie in the ancient Sanskrit literature beginning with *vEda-s*¹. Ancient India (*Barata KanDa*) was a group of several small, small countries ruled by some king or the other. Though there have been numerous languages in these regions, basically a common thread of ethics and culture prevailed all through, brought about by *vEda-s*, *SRuti-s*, *smRuti-s*, *SAstra-s*, *purANa-s* etc. which are all in Sanskrit language. The four *Ruk – yajur – sAma – atharva vEda-s* are pre-ancestral and no one knows how they came into existence. *vEda-s* led to different classes of further literature: 108 main *upaniShat-s*, 5 *upavEda-s*

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(*dhanurvEda*, *AyurvEda* etc.) and 6 *vEdanga-s* (*SikShA*, *nirukta*, *vyAkaraNa*, *chandas*, *kalpa*, and *jyOtiSha* – basically etymology, grammar etc.). *upaniShat-s* contain mainly philosophic perspectives. *vEdanga-s* consist of various *SAstra-s*. *kalpa sUtra-s* are in four categories: *Srauta* (rituals) - *sulba* (mathematics) - *gRuhya* (households) and *dharma* (ethics) *sUtra-s*.

vEda-s have been the source to get *dhArmic* (righteous) principles. While the sages preached, their students learnt many parts of them only by listening and remembering. Based on them, much simpler treatises were developed. These became known as *SRuti-s* and *smRuti-s*. By listening, reciting and remembering them the *dhArmic* knowledge has been passed on from generation to generation. These treatises include *smRuti-s* named after Angirasa, Aapastamba, Asvalaayana, Atri, Ausanasa (Sukra), Bauddhayana, Bharadwaja, Bhrgu, Bruhaspati, Daksha, Dalbhya, Devala, Gautama, Harita, Kasyapa, Katyayana, Kaarshnaaji, Laugakshi, Likhita, Lohita, Manu, Marichi, Markandeya, Narada, Narayana, Paithanasi, Paraasara, Pitamaha, Pracheta, Prajapati, Pulastya, Rushyasruna, Saataatapa, Sabara, Samvarta, Saankhya, Vishnu, Visvaamitra, Vyaghrapada, Vyasa, Yajnavalkya, Yama, etc. There are also some *samhita-s*.² The vast coverage of the political, economic and social issues and intricacies in this literature is rather amazing.

Simultaneously 18 *purANa-s*, and 18 *upa-purANa-s* were also written in even simpler style to impart the knowledge content to common people who were illiterates and not intelligent enough to understand *vEda-s*, *SRuti-s* and *smRuti-s*. The most well known *purANa-s* are *agni*, *BaviShya*, *brahma*, *brahmAnDa*, *brahma vaivarta*, *garuDa*, *kUrma*, *linga*, *mArkanDeya*, *matsya*, *nArada*, *padma*, *Siva*, *skanda*, *vAyu*, *vAmana*, *varAha*, *viShNu*, etc. Many of the well known Sanskrit works were translated by foreigners during recent times³.

Our discussion in the first part is mainly based on the above literature. The second part is based on the Indian history. Section-wise the topics briefly discussed are as follows: 2. Sources and Some

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Caveats, 3. The World, 4. Origin of the State and Political Theory, 5. Some Basic Tenets of Hinduism, 6. *dharma sankatam* (Confusion) and Materialism, 7. *rAja dharma* (King's role), 8. Public Administration, 9. Law and Justice (*vyavahAra nirNayam*), 10. Property & Interest rates, 11. Economy & Agriculture, 12. Industry & Mining, 13. Trade and Inflation, 14. Public Finance, 15. Public Works, 16. Trees and Plants, 17. Non-vegetarianism, 18. Science and Life Cycle, 19. Education (*vidyA*), 20. Employment and Labour, 21. Gender, 22. Family & Inheritance, 23. Poverty and Inequality, 24. Happiness, 25. History, 26. Onslaught on Hinduism, and 27. Current Scenario and Conclusions.

The write-up concludes with some hopes and some despair about the future. It is basically only a survey of the literature on social values, taking into account several commentaries made by very knowledgeable subject experts. Thus, drawing heavily from the already existing literature, nothing is claimed here as original thought.

Sources and Some Caveats

There are endless controversies regarding ancient Hindu literature.

1. While discussing the ancestral Hindu texts, their wisdom, sentiments, beliefs etc. are not questioned by us.
2. *SAstra-s* and *smRuti-s* are treatises on particular subject matters. *itihaAsa-s* namely *rAmAyaNam* and *mahABAratam* are histories (इति हा आस - *iti hA Asa*: this is how it happened). *purANa-s* are *dhArmic SAstra-s* woven around some story or the other (often concocted though), without sticking to only a particular subject. One important point to remember is that, when we say, for example, *manu smRuti*, it does not mean that Manu actually wrote it; it only means Manu taught these principles. Some of his disciples, or disciples' disciples

documented them in later periods. Bhṛugu (between 200 BC and 200 AD) is supposed to have documented the *manu smṛiti*.

3. Our translations of Sanskrit and Tamil verses below only convey gist; not word-to-word translations.

4. Sometimes we come across different versions of the same treatise; and also different interpretations of the same version seem to exist. For example, *mahāBārata*'s title is *jāyam*, which means victory as well as one lakh. While the *mahāBārata* contains one lakh verses, which were written in 3 months time, it is however argued that originally it only had 24000 verses. Many parts of *sāBA parvam*, *Sānti parvam*, *anusaṇa parvam*, and *Bagavad gītā* were considered by many to be later insertions into the original version. Strong reasons exist for such a belief. For example, *anusaṇa parvam* containing the dialogues between Bhishma and Yudhishtira is mostly another *dharma Sāstram*. If these were really later insertions, they transformed *mahāBārata* from an *itihāsa* to a *purāṇa*! However such insertions, whenever they were made, were still ancient. For us what matters is, they are all ancient a few centuries this way or that way.

5. My knowledge of history is by no means adequate enough; hence many historical details might not be precise in this paper. No great deal of discussion will appear here on the dates of different ancient / medieval / modern events and episodes (whether Krishna preceded Rama, or whether Valmiki wrote *rāmāyaṇa* much after the event was over, or whether Yajñavalkya preceded Kautilya, or whether Bruhaspati was a *chārvaṇa* etc.). One notable controversy is regarding Rama's times. Traditionalists say, he existed during 24th *yuga*, and Krishna belonged to the present *yuga* the 28th. That means Rama existed several lakhs (not thousands) of years ago, while Krishna was our almost immediate ancestor.

Though the classical texts documented historical episodes one way or the other, mentioning the times (dates etc.) of occurrence of

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those episodes was not given much importance. *rAmAyaNam* and *mahABAratam* relate some of the episodes to astronomical features. In most of the other literature, even such information is quite inadequate.

Rapson E.J. (1914) presents a long sequence of major events in ancient India. A part of it as follows. During B.C.: 1200-1000: *vEdic* hymns, 600: *upaniShat-s*, 599-527: Vardhamana (Jainism), 563-483: Gautama Buddha, 543-459: Magadha kings, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, 400-300: *mahABAratam*, 400-200: *rAmAyaNam*, 343-321: Nanda dynasty and Alexander's Indian expedition, 321-184: Maurya dynasty, 269-227: Asoka, 220: Satavahana Andhra empire, and 58: Vikramaditya. According to this sequence, Buddha preceded Pandavas and Krishna, who preceded Rama!

6. *bRuhaspati smRuti*, *bArhaspatya samhita* and *bArhaspatya sutra-s* (BPS) are all different. BPS is the so called *bRuhaspati artha Sastram* and of 6th century A.D.

7. There could be gaps between theory and practice. *Sastra-s* might have enunciated all kinds of moral codes. That doesn't necessarily mean that all the kings and people have rigorously followed them.

8. 'Anubandham: Mulam' and 'Appendix: Mulam' at the end of the paper present the original Sanskrit verses for the bracketed codes in the main text. Sanskrit words except common names and nouns such as Rama, Bharata, etc. have been transliterated (including those in quotations) according to the BARAHA software code. Abbreviations given in brackets are as follows: AS: *Apastamba sUtra*; AUS: *auSanasa smRuti*; BG: *Bagavad gIta*; BHS: *BartRuhari suBAShitam*; BM: *BUpAla manDanam*; BS: *bRuhaspati smRuti*; BDS: *bauddhAyana smRuti*; BPS: *bRuhaspati artha SAstra sUtra*; CN: *chAnakya nIti*; G: General Source; GP: *garuDa purANam*; HU: *hitOpadESam*; KA: *kauTilya artha SAstra*; JS: *jAbAli smRuti*; MB: *mahABAratam*; MB-AP: *Adi parvam* in MB; MB-ARP: *araNya parvam* in MB; MB-ASP: *anuSAsana parvam* in MB; MB-SBP: *saBA parvam* in

MB; MB-SNP: *SAnti parvam* in MB; MB-UP: *udyOga parvam* in MB; MS: *manu smRuti*; MS-x: x-th *adhyaya* in MS; NS: *nArada smRuti*; NTS: *nIti SAstram*; PS: *parASara smRuti*; TU: *taittirIya upaniShat*; YS: *yAj~javalkya smRuti*; YS-VA: *yAj~javalkya smRuti – vyavahAra adhyAya* (AA, GDP, SPP stand for *AchAra adhyAya*, *gRuhastha dharma prakaraNam* and *sAhasE prAsangika prakaraNam* respectively); RV: *Rug vEda*, YV: *yajur vEda*. In MS-x-y, BM-x-y, etc. y is only a code number given in this paper. It turned out beyond me to present Tamil *mulam* from *Tirukkuraṭ*; only translation is given.

9. Many of the topics mentioned below are discussed in much more detail by the other papers under the project “Identifying the Elements of Heritage of Development Thinking in India”. Only a brief introduction is provided here.

10. The content in this write-up is purely based on historical facts. Nothing of whatever is said is meant to degrade any religion or community in particular.

The World

When the Hindu classical texts were evolving, none had ever thought that in the future (by about 14th century A.D.) a brand called “Hinduism” would be named, restricted to a particular part of the world. Hindu sages believed that only inferior minds count some as insiders and others as outsiders; for noble gentlemen entire earth is one family (G-01). The whole philosophy and principles came out as a natural concern relevant for all societies, ecology and environment.

It was a custom for the classical texts to give geographic details – *AryAvarta*, *dakshiNAPatha*, and so on, major mountains such as Himalayas, Vindhyas, Sahyadri, and so on, various rivers emerging out of these mountains, major forests such as *naimiSa*, *danDaka*, *champa*, and so on, and names of several small, small kingdoms

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referred to as *janapada-s*. In BPS-3-(verses from 64 onwards) great geographical description of the world and *Barata KanDa* (to which India belongs) including measurements is given. Earth is of 50 crores of *yOjana-s*, with seven continents (*karma*, *BOga*, *atiBoga*, *divya*, *SRungAra*, *siddha*, and *kaivalya*), seven seas, *meru* mountain, *jambu* (berries) trees, land of 9000 *yOjana-s* south to Himalayas, the southern part of the land being *Barata KanDa* (where one visualizes the results of *dharma* & *adharma*). The distance from *badarika* to Rama *setu* is 1000 *yOjanas*. From Dwaraka to Purushottama *sAlagrAma* is 700 *yOjana-s*; in this land there are seven great mountains called *raivata*, *vindhya*, *sahya*, *kumAra*, *malaya*, *SrIparvata*, and *pAriyAtra*; great rivers Ganga, Saraswati, Kalindi, Godavari, Kaveri, Tamraparni, and Ghrutamala and tributaries; eighteen countries, eighteen maritime kings, and eighteen hill kingdoms. It also provides the measurements of each of these kingdoms including those of Cholas, Pandyaas and Konkana in the south. The religious domains of *vaishNava* (8), *Saiva* (8) and *SAkta* (8) are listed. Mentioning all the deities in all the sacred places, it comments that 'Gods' outnumber men in *Barata karmaBumi* (BPS-3-134). Finally, four *yugas*, namely *kRuta*, *tretA*, *dvApara*, and *kali* (BPS mentions it as *tishya*) are mentioned.

There is an elaborate discussion in *vishNu purANam* on how people behave in the current *kali yuga*. In the *kali yuga* part, men become opponents of *dharma*, and become untruthful; (BPS-3-148). BPS-2 has a great deal of discussion on the methods of *lokAyatika-s*, *tAntric-s* (*kApAlika-s* and *kShapaNaka-s*), *Arhata-s*, and *bauddha-s* and advises the king not even to think of having any contact with them (BPS-2-35).

Origin of the State and Political Theory

Main occupations of the tribals in the *janapada-s* were basically hunting, fisheries, pastoral agriculture etc. Panini's *aShtAdhyAyI*,

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rAmAyaNam, *mahABAratam*, Buddhist and Jain texts and many other ancient Sanskrit works list several *janapada* territories (basically Indo-Aryan as well as Non-Aryan tribals). A long list of them is given in *viShNu purANa*, and a shorter list appears in *bRuhaspati artha SAstra*. Some of them were monarchies while the others were supposed to be republican. None of the lists given in these sources seems to be exhaustive. For example, Andhra and Kalinga were only mentioned by some of them. These *janapada-s* though mutually exclusive, indulged in fighting for supremacy and claiming for the land. By the 6th century B.C. they became mainly sixteen large political entities known as *mahAjanapada-s* (Anga, Kosala, Kasi, Magadha, Vraji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Paanchaala, Matsya, Surasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhara, and Kambhoja). By this time already the histories of Rama-Raavana, and Krishna-Pandavas seem to have been over. *vEda-s* already existed. Jainism and Buddhism were growing with non-belief in the *vEdic* principles; *vEda-s* are not authorities on *dhArmic* principles for them.

People:

Civil liberties and fundamental rights are concepts of limited applicability to ancient Indians. Subrahmanian (1980) distinguishes between a 'subject' and a 'citizen'. The former has no civil rights while the latter has. In my view this distinction is unnecessary for ancient India. In the absence of rights against the government, possibilities for 'public opinion' rarely existed. Identifying (i) territory, (ii) population, (iii) sovereignty and (iv) government as the main attributes of any political state, Subrahmanian says that ancient Indian literature did not discuss political theory, nor constitutional remedies for misrule, origin of the state, philosophical justifications for particular forms of government, and philosophical explanation for political behavior⁴. He seems to have missed *rAmAyaNam* and some other literature which prescribed philosophical explanation for political behavior (may not be satisfactory though), and even provided revolutionary ideas about a bad king. Let us note some of them below.

Evolution of a King / State:

Contemporary literature distinguishes political theories from the economic theories of the state. The difference between them is largely a matter of perspective. There are mainly four approaches under political perspective.⁵ These are pluralist, elite, Marxist and corporatist theories, each with its own merits and demerits in explaining the economic role of the state in capital accumulation under political power compulsions. But, how is the state itself created first, and for what purpose? Three different economic theories directly address this question. These theories attempt to explain the creation and the role of the state based on (i) the necessity of provision of public goods, (ii) coordination principle for the sake of order in the society, and (iii) evolutionary stability where the state for the sake of its own survival works for the general welfare through increased economic productivity.⁶

These theories however do not take us far enough to understand the origin of the state in ancient times. The only philosophy that people were aware in those times was the belief in God. God is the owner of this world, and hence only He would rule. Self-government was not a Hindu tradition. This led to the following dictum: Someone who is not (a descendent of) Lord Vishnu or *dik-pAlaka-s* (rulers of East, South, West and North) cannot be the ruler of the earth. A bright and kind king protects *dharma* and truth. He is always honorable, father-like and helps and brings happiness to people (BM-2-3 & 5). When the world is without a king, and people are scared, God created the 'king' to protect their welfare. God sent a king to rule the kingdoms (MS-7-3). Kings are created every often for the welfare of the people (BM-2-153). Gods save the king for the welfare of people (BM-1-22).

Need for Governance:

Despite all decorations, no kingdom shines without a king (BM-2-144). There is a poignant exposition on *arAjakam* (anarchy, political chaos) in the *rAmAyaNam* 67th *sarga* of *ayOdhya kAnDa* (8th to 38th verses). The context was the time when Sri Rama and Lakshmana

went away to forests, Bharata and Satrugna were in Kandahar (Afghanistan), Dasaratha died, and the country Kosala was king-less. Sages Markandeya, Maudgalya, Vamadeva, Kasyapa, Katyayana, Gautama, and Jabali along with other ministers approached the royal priest Vasishtha requesting him to see that a king is immediately appointed. They pointed out how a headless kingdom becomes anarchy. They argued: "if there is no king, the kingdom would collapse. The clouds yield no rain in a kingless country. Respect and regard cease for the relations between fathers and sons, and between wives and husbands. There wouldn't be wealth; and wives wouldn't be faithful. More importantly, truth wouldn't prevail. There wouldn't be parks, temples and public discussions; pious people cannot carry out their sacrificial rituals; Brahmins wouldn't bestow blessings; no festivals exalting the glory of the kingdom; disputes would not get resolved; girls adorned with jewels would be afraid to go to parks in the evening times; lovers would be afraid to go to woods; rich people and those living on agriculture and cattle wouldn't be able to sleep in their homes with doors open; there wouldn't be elephants on royal highways; warriors wouldn't practice war techniques (archery); traders carrying a variety of merchandise cannot roam around safely; monks cannot roam around; gain and security wouldn't prevail; army cannot win over enemies; peoples' movements get hindered; subject experts cannot meet together for discussions; appointed priests wouldn't perform any services to the deities; royal persons would look dull; the country would look like waterless rivers, lawns-less gardens and cowherds-less cows; there wouldn't be own property for anyone. Like fish eating fish, persons devour each other; and atheists who were earlier punished would regain strength and fearlessly exercise their old beliefs. Just as eyes cause right movements of the body, a king causes truth and righteousness in the country. A king is personified truth and righteousness; he is equivalent to father and mother, well-wisher of the people. His right conduct gets the blessings of the Gods such as Indra etc. Without a king who could discriminate between good and evil the country would become visionless. Kosala right now without a

king would soon become a jungle. So assess the situation yourself and quickly install a king." Vasishta then acted to install a king.

Particularly notable from the above exposition are the insecurity of women, insecurity of weak people (big fish eating away the small ones), insecurity of traders, loss of property rights, and insecurity of the country itself when there is no king. If one feels that such environment prevails even these days, obviously, the rulers are only misnomers.

Basically the issue of governance is ensuring peaceful survival under order or chaos. Heilbroner (1999) identifies three ways of managing the problem of human survival in a society. First one is simply sticking to family customs and traditions. Second is acceptance of an authoritarian rule, and the third is living under market system. Though Heilbroner gives India as an example for the first way, one should remember that India is known to have followed customs and traditions not only under *janapada*-system, but also continued with them even under the authoritarian rules of different kings, and even now continues with them under the modern democratic system where markets play a huge role.

Let us note two points more-convincingly made by Subrahmanian (1976 and 1980). He says that all civil societies in general are "coercive arrangements like police arrangements in legal states; they provide security to the individual in return for a surrender of his pre-society freedom. The more the security given, the more the freedom surrendered. Absolute security will mean total surrender of personal freedom. The Hindu society represented by the caste system and the *dharma SAstra* is an example of maximum security being given by a society to its members; and this is the sense in which the Hindu society is 'total' without being 'totalitarian' " – Subrahmanian (1976). "The ancient Tamils felt the absolute need for a king, for the alternative was unthinkable to them. They had, in fact, a hobbesian obsession of the dreadful alternative – dark anarchy" - Subrahmanian (1980). These two points would imply that people

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would still need some governance from top, though the customs and traditions themselves provide great security for them. Even to continue with customs and traditions, royal protection and help are needed.

Misrule of the King and Importance of Customs and Traditions:

rAmAyaNam indicates at several instances how a king should conduct his rule. For instance, during a meeting in Sarabhanga *ASrama*, sages appeal to Rama to save them from demons, expressing as follows: "Oh Lord, a king who takes away a sixth part of the produce as tax, and yet does not protect the tax-payer as a child, becomes a sinner. When a king righteously protects the people, he gets one fourth of the results of the penance of the sages who live only by eating roots and fruits." (*rAmAyaNam*, *araNya kAnDa*-01).

mahABAratam - *Adi parvam-bakaAsura vadha* has an interesting episode. A Brahmin was crying because it was his turn to send a family member to Bakaasura, the demon, as daily food. He says, "this tribal king (*vetrakIya janapada*) does not know how to govern well his kingdom; we deserve this daily calamity since we ourselves opted to depend on this bad king. It is prescribed that one should first select a king in whose kingdom to settle in, then grow family, and later earn wealth, in that order⁷. Only then children and relatives can be taken care of. Here I did every thing opposite. I don't even have money to buy another person to send to Bakaasura⁸. So today I have to sacrifice someone of my family only." - (MB-AP-01). Kunti then offered to send Bheema to Bakaasura, saying even if she had hundred sons, none of them would be less dear than the others (i.e. she picked up Bheema, not out of any dislike for him) (MB-AP-02).

What should people do for misrulings of the king? Bhishma's warning to Yudhishtira in *anuSAsana parvam* of *mahABAratam* may be noted. People should come together to eliminate that

incompassionate sinful king who loots their wealth instead of protecting them. That king who tells his people that he would protect, and yet does not should be eliminated like a dog infected with rabies. One-fourth part of the sins committed by the people goes to such a king, if not a half or the whole of those sins. That king who protects his subjects well would get one-fourth of the merits his subjects earn (MB-ASP-01).

Let not the wicked rule us (RV-05). Chanakya says, better have no state instead of having a state ruled by an evil king. Where is happiness for people in the state ruled by an evil king! (CN-01)

In general how a king acts and reacts may not be predictable. Royal ways have no fixed rules. *hitOpadESam* argues: royal ways are like the fickle behavior of call girls (HU). Given this, what could be expected of a king (or state)? Are there any limitations? To know this we should first look at the environment in which a king operated in ancient India. A king was never considered in isolation of the society; he was a part of it rather.

Subrahmanian (1980) argues: Some erstwhile Western philosophers thought that the individual could perfect his own personality only through the state. "This means that if the state declined, the individual had little to lean upon and so was famished. But in India the social organization was such that the individual had (by birth) a definite place and status in society; he did not need the state for his status or his progress. The state itself was not the legal embodiment of society but only a part of society with *locus standii* there like any other institution or person and did not much engage the attention of scholars. That is the reason why concepts about the state did not develop here on lines familiar to students of European thought. The individual cared little what the state (the king) did or demanded or who functioned as the king (whether it was benevolent despot or an unbridled autocrat). Some would search in vain for a Hampden in *sangam* Tamil society or in Hindu Society of any age for that matter.

The state, therefore, had limited duties to perform,” - Subrahmanian (1980).

Perhaps this explains why a common man even in the present democratic India is hardly bothered about which political party comes to power - Congress, or BJP, or some other coalition! Thus while political governance is necessary for the society, yet it is of secondary importance compared to the protection provided by the customs and traditions as safety nets. This argument takes us to some fundamentals of Hindu precepts including the caste system.

Some Basic Tenets of Hinduism

Generally it is difficult to understand Hindu perspectives without knowing certain concepts such as *dharmā-artha-kāma-mokṣa*, *sattva-rajas-tamO guṇa-s* (soft – ferocious - dull natures of thought and action; *manu smṛiti* describes them.), *samānya-varṇa-āśrama dharmā-s* (General ethics- caste oriented ethics – ethics depending on the phases of the life) and *Ātma & paramĀtma* (soul & Almighty).

dharmā-artha-kāma-mokṣa:

These are *chaturvidha puruṣārtha-s* (four kinds of ultimate purposes) that every Hindu prays for. The concept of *dharmā* is very important for Hindus. Roughly it means moral ethics, propriety and righteousness. *artha* refers to all kinds of materialistic wants and wealth etc. *kāma* refers to desires and *mokṣa* to ultimate salvation. *artha* and *kāma* must be based on the first one, i.e. *dharmā*. *dharmā* determines how one should conduct the self and perform (*mīmāṃsā Sāstra*: चोदना लक्षणार्थो धर्मः । *chOdana lakṣhāNārthO dharmāH*).

One way to look at the concept of *dharmā-artha-kāma-mokṣa*, is that they are needed by every individual since the king (or the state) cannot do everything in the case of *artha & kāma* of individuals. If however achievement of *artha* and *kāma* is entirely left to the individuals, social tensions would develop and the world would

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suffer. So, *dharma* is enunciated and insisted because it binds people in their spirits and actions. *dhArmīc* principles are enunciated in classical treatises (*dharma SAstra-s*) for every aspect of life – *dharma* for mothers and fathers, teachers and students, wives and husbands, householders, sages and saints, kings and warriors, traders, personnel and servants, and so on covering every part of their daily lives including duties and rituals they perform. Thus *dharma* figures in every action of every individual every moment all through one's life – as self-governance.

Hindus staunchly believe that only '*dharma*' followed in one's life would accompany the 'individual' after the death. *nIti SAstram* says that when one dies, all his wealth stays only at home; friends and relatives accompany him only up to burial ground; only (the consequences of) his good and bad deeds during his life would accompany him even after death (NTS-01). *manu smRuti* says that the only thing that follows a person even in his death is his *dhArmīc* deeds; everything else is destroyed when the body is destroyed (MS-8-17).

Non-violent conduct causing no harm to anybody anytime is the primary principle for *dharma*. *mahABAratam* declares that non-violence is the ultimate *dharma* (MB-ASP-08), and that, *dharma* is preached only for the sake of non-violence; he who practices it is the righteous (MB-SNP-01). Six characteristics of *dharma* are declared (MB-ASP-09).

For all citizens certain principles of moral ethics are prescribed, known as ***sAmAnyā dharma-s***. These consist of firmness, patience, self control, non-stealing, purity of body-mind-speech, sense-control, mental strength, education, truth and lack of anger (ten entities) (MS-6-92). Put differently, these are non-violence, truth, not stealing, clean behavior and control of senses (MS-10-63). *yAj~javalkya smRuti* further adds to them: offering out of compassion, mind control, kindness, and patience (YS-GDP-01).

The Hindu principles have several other peculiarities such as *varNa* and *ASrama dharma-s* serving as a sort of social safety nets.

ASrama dharma:

Hinduism distinguishes between four probable phases of life for every individual, one of which is being a householder. The four are *brahmachAri* (bachelors), – *gRuhashta* (householder) – *vAnaprastha* (secluded life in forests) – *sanyAsi* (sainthood) *ASrama-s* - (BDS-2-6-17). One becomes householder after completing bachelorhood; after passing through house-holding he may go away to woods seeking solitude, and afterwards may finally attain sainthood. A bachelor, who has enough will, may become a saint skipping the 2nd and 3rd stages; (JS). However, thesedays people mostly end up with the first two stages only.

One is supposed to learn / study during the phase of bachelorhood. "Education" is discussed in a separate section later.

Taking care of the non-householder individuals (other three phases) is one of the duties of a householder. Just as all beings survive depending on the air, so do all the *ASrama*-holders depending on householders. Householding is the best of all the *ASrama-s* since it supports all the others by offering knowledge as well as food (MS-3-77 & 78). Thus it is a safety net for other *ASrama-s*. No householder should ever prepare food only for self. Food must first be offered to Brahmins, guests, servants, and offered to all the family deities and forefathers, and only the remaining must be consumed. If food is taken without first offering to others it amounts to consuming sin; (MS-3-116 to 118). *Rug vEda* pronounces: one becomes an absolute sinner, if he consumes all the food by himself without feeding first the elders and friends – (RV-01). Similar sentiments are expressed in *Bagavad gIta* and *bauddhAyana smRuti* also.

Hinduism visualizes that every individual is born with lots of debts to clear off (to Gods, ancestors and sages). This is the *karma* (duty or fate) part of one's life, taking the individual from one life to another

until the dues remain. Only after clearing off the three kinds of dues, one can renounce the world, seek for salvation and may attain *mOkSha* (salvation). Seeking for salvation without clearing off the dues leads to downfall; (MS-6-35).

Evolution of Caste System and *VarNa Dharmaas*:

Hinduism recognizes four basic categories called "*varNa-s*" (castes): Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. *puruSha sUktam* in the *vEdas* refers to the system.

The *SAstra-s* delineate certain kinds of social duties and tasks for different castes: Brahmins are supposed to learn and teach, conduct religious affairs, guide the kings in administration, etc. Some *smRuti-s* such as *Paraasara* etc. stress the importance of agriculture and allows Brahmins also to cultivate (PS-2-2). *BUpAla manDanam* says, all the four castes may cultivate (BM-2-360). Kshatriyas's role is to protect and rule the kingdoms, keep up social welfare, ensure property rights, fair commerce and trade, and perform religious activities. Though the king has certain rights over everything (land, forestry, cattle etc.), he does not have the ownership. Cultivation, animal husbandry, commercial trade, loaning to get interest incomes etc. are assigned to Vaisyaas. Sudraas are supposed to provide all the services to the other three castes. Under dire circumstances, trespassing of the assigned duties was allowed.

"So in the Hindu arrangement, the duties are known (or should be learnt) and must be performed in the context of *varNa* and *ASrama* while the western position would expect one to discover one's duties in the context of one's personality. This difference is quite vital." - Subrahmanian (1976).

Shama Sastry (1920) defines 'caste' as follows: "Caste means a social exclusiveness with reference to diet and marriage. So long as a Hindu, whether a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra, observes his social or communal rules about the articles of diet he eats and about the woman he marries, he is regarded to maintain his caste

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and to lose it the moment he infringes the rules of dietary and marriage. Birth and rituals are secondary, for there is evidence to prove that the offspring of Brahmins and non-Brahmin women used to become Brahmins and that religious rites were changed from time to time." Further he argues that Buddhists' counsel to avoid animal sacrifices, flesh-eating and sexual indulgence brought up caste system.

Who are elders in this society? The most knowledgeable among Brahmins, the strongest among Kshatriyas, the wealthiest with grains and money among Vaisyas (traders), and the oldest among Sudras are elders (NTS-08, which is a restatement from *vyAGrapAda smRuti*). Kshatriyaas follow Brahmins; Vaisyaas follow Kshatriyaas; Sudraas follow Brahmins, Kshatriyaas and Vaisyaas as their respective *svadharma-s* (*rAmAyaNam*, *bAla kAnDa*-01). Brahmana power is described in *manu smRuti*. Brahmin's word is his weapon; by his word he can win over his enemies. When in troubles, Kshatriya does that by his strength, Vaisyaas and Sudraas by their money, and Brahmins by their penance (MS-11:33 & 34).

Categorizing people into separate groups is perhaps not unique to Hinduism, since such a phenomenon prevails in other religions also. Subrahmanian (1980 and 1976) provides one of the excellent analyses of the caste system in India⁹. According to him (1980), "Caste could not have been the consequence of theoretical speculation but an evolution on lines determined by historical circumstances." Further he says that, historically the development of caste in the north India was on different lines than what it was in Tamilazham. He argues that the caste system of one kind or another existed even in the pre-Aryan period; Aryans further imposed the *varNa* system over it. They followed *gOtra* system, while *jAti-s* followed 'totem' (symbols such as tree, bird etc.). According to him there are two features about caste: "one of them operates horizontally in the social fabric and cuts society into endogamous groups; and the other vertically slices up society into snob groups, the most important among them in India being the

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Brahmin whose *gOtra* sytem is exogamous. The former is *jAti* (community), while the latter is *varNa* (colour). *jAti* corresponds to numerous non-intermingling tribal groups in most primitive societies – African, Australian etc. *varNa* (distinction based on colour) was historical necessity for the immigrating Aryan in India and corresponded to the modern 'colour' bar. *jAti* existed in pre-Aryan India and when *varNa* was superimposed on it, the multitude of horizontal communities already existing (but which functioned originally merely on the basis of exclusiveness) began to operate on the basis of social prestige." Thus as Subrahmanian rightly says, the caste & sub-caste system was the result of joint contributions by pre-Aryans and Aryans. However, the social prestige factor became important, which got perpetuated by birth and authentication by *dharma SAstra-s* – see Subrahmanian (1976).

The vertical part of the caste system could in principle generate social frustrations. "The horizontal part of the caste system provided no prestige irritants for they were mutually and by common consent segregated; the critical part provided prestige rungs in the ladder and could normally generate social frustrations. But it didn't evidently. For there was a balance of power, prestige, and net advantages in this arrangement. The Brahmin enjoyed overall prestige, monopoly of sacred education and the right to interpret the *SAstra* and if necessary to make new ones; but he had to be poor as a compensation for these. The Kshatriya had secular power and all that it meant but had to be second to the *purOhit-s* and the priests, and humble himself before them. The Vaisya had wealth and could compete successfully with the Kshatriya in many ways and even succeeded in assuming royalty – e.g. the Guptas and Harsha – but as against the Brahmin he was far below. The Sudra of course was numereically superior, and knew that the others were dependent on him for their food. But he was the *chaturtha*." - Subrahmanian (1976).

Based on *vAyu purANa*, R S Sharma (2011) argues that economic stability and establishment of property rights were the causes behind

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the caste system. Firm establishment of agriculture led to more productive labour, appropriation of productive assets such as fields, trees, water etc., and creation of surplus. Thus stability of the agrarian economy and surplus accumulation led to the rise of private property. However that led to social inequalities causing conflicts between the strong and weak people. A divine interference to resolve the crisis led to establishment of castes prescribing various social duties for each of them.

Saran (1957) seems to hold a different view. "The castes and sub-castes came to develop when, birth came to be attached much importance in deciding the social status and the occupations of the people. This switch-over from *varNa* to castes and sub-castes was not sudden but gradual and was largely due to the narrow-mindedness of the social leaders, particularly Brahmins, who everytime an invasion took-place, found their importance discounted. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the eminent philosopher, believes that the caste system was the result of the protests of the Hindus against the absorption into Hindu society of such tribes as Saka, Yavan, Pahlava and Kushan and that birth came to be the criterion on account of the difficulties of determining castes without allowing other races to merge into one" - Saran (1957).

Subrahmanian (1976) sees the birth criterion slightly differently. "The system demanded that if rigid change-lessness is to be achieved internal mobility of social groups must be rendered impossible and this was done by making caste determinable at birth" – thus suppressing the individual's free will and social mobility.

In the twine of these complexities 'Brahmin' became overtime a target to be hit. Though a Brahmin is supposed to be a 'God to Gods themselves' (MS-11-85), his conduct however became more questionable than the others' even in ancient times.

The Brahmin is expected to possess, understand and impart to others the nuances of *vEdic* knowledge. That may be possible to a select few, but in general not to every Brahmin. *manu smRuti* says, a
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Brahmin who doesn't learn *vEdas*, is as useless as toys of elephants and deers made of wooden and carcass (MS-2-157). The same view is expressed in BDS, PS and several others.

Bathing at dawn and dusk, penance, performing sacrificial ritual, worshipping, hospitality to guests, and honoring the Gods are six daily duties of the Brahmin (PS-1-39). A Brahmin may also cultivate without giving up his six duties (PS-2-2). Other treatises say that this is permissible only under dire circumstances. He is also not supposed to charge interest on any loans given by him (MS-10-117). He is not supposed to sell most of the goods. The Brahmin should never seek donations from Sudraas for religious purposes (*yaj~jArtham*). Whatever a Brahmin collects in the name of God, and yet does not offer it fully to the God, he is a great sinner getting reborn as crow, kite etc. (MS-11-24 to 26). Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas should never consume liquor (MS-11-94).

It appears many a Brahmin could not live up to the rigours required. It turned out a far cry for a Brahmin to be a "Brahmin"; let alone him providing guidance for other castes. He was merely getting on with his social status brought through birth, than by his personal merit. Yudhishtira answers one of the questions raised by Yaksha: neither ancestry nor knowledge of *vEdas* is the cause of *dvijatvam* (Brahminhood); only conduct is the cause; no doubt about it (MB-ARP-YP-01). In other words not all Brahmins by birth are Brahmins.

Shouldn't then the caste system be given up? " ... The denigration of the Brahmin as such in the caste hierarchy or the economic and neo-social uplift of the traditionally lower classes has nothing to do with the abolition of the caste. The essence of the caste system is hierarchy and not necessarily a Brahmin-apexed or Sudra-based hierarchy; if their roles are reversed, even then the caste system will operate in full ..." - Subrahmanian (1976).

There are several aspects behind the issue of (not) giving up the caste-system. One is the inter-caste claims for supremacy; another

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one is its role as a kind of safety net, which now more or less operates differently to facilitate achievement of vested interests, and still another aspect is the birth criterion determining the caste.

Inter-Caste Rivalry:

"The Brahminical attempt to inflate tribal culture into a larger complex was less successful than the tribal achievement of reducing the Brahmin into yet another tribe. The confrontation of these social forces saw the emergence of the caste system as we know it; while the *chatur varNas* and the *ananta* (endless) *jatis* reacted on each other and produced caste system of India, the Brahminisation of the tribes was less effective than the tribalization of the Brahmin. But the Brahminical ego kept him at the periphery of the entire arrangement and has till this day deterred him from sympathizing with the needs and aspirations of regional tribal cultures. His influence in that complex, plural society was entirely due to his position as priest, their intermediary between man and god; and his undoubted achievement was to have made Hindu society into a robot remote-controlled by him; he was part of the machine, no doubt, but still stood above it sufficiently to supervise it. But his assumptions of a superior status was very grudgingly conceded and often resisted by the rest of the society." - Subrahmanian (1976). He claims that this hypothesis is proved by everything that happened in India during the past two and a half millennia; and cites the struggles between the Brahman and the Kshatriya for supremacy in the earlier stages. The well known fights between Rama and Parasurama, Vasishta and Viswamitra, Drona and Drushtadyumna, are these instances. Buddhism added further discomfiture to the Brahmin. However, according to him, the Brahmin has always re-emerged with fresh accession of social strength and respectability. Shama Sastry (1920) presents a different, difficult-to-digest, interpretation of the struggles between Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Basically it is based on certain rights of Kshatriyas to marry. He views the familiar episodes in *AmAyaNam* of (i) Viswamitra getting Janaka's daughters Seeta and Urmila married to Rama and Lakshmana, and (ii) Parasurama (Brahmin) losing to Rama (Kshatriya) in a fight there after, as

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ascertaining the Kshatriya rights. *auSanasa smRuti* dealing with professional rights of the people born out of cross-caste relations, mentions that only a cross-breed of male Brahmin and female Kshatriya is fit for coronation (AUS-01). (It also mentions the derivation of the word "*Kaayastha*" as the first letters of the words *Kaaka*, *Yama* and *Sthapati*!).

One may view that the rivalry issue is not just between Brahmins and non-Brahmins; it has over time extended to sects and sub-sects 'within non-Brahmins' themselves. We may conclude that as long as rivalries exist and are only seen through the caste perspective, it is difficult to give up the system.

Safety Net:

Caste system for a long time served as a safety net; i.e. people of a particular caste taking care of others belonging to the same caste. This was socially quite necessary when income inequalities are substantial. That is how public institutions bearing the caste-names evolved (eg. *brAhmaNa anna satram*, *Arya vaisya kalyANa manTapam*, *balija vidyArthula vasati gRuham*, etc.). At the political level, the caste identification works in a different way. Political parties often identify their winning strengths in elections based on the caste of the contestants and of the voters. In other words, caste identity helps a great deal for grabbing political power and for achieving vested interests. Thus, though the caste system as a social safety net has been losing its importance, the political dimension associated with it makes it difficult to give up the system.

Birth Criterion:

Though the *SAstra-s* stress that the caste is not to be considered by birth, somehow the social treatment such as Brahmin's offspring is Brahmins, Kshatriya's offspring Kshatriyaas etc. became widely prevalent. Even today India recognizes castes and communities by birth; otherwise the present system of reservations would have been neither prevalent nor possible. While the populations coming under the category of reservations continue to gain some privileges due to

their caste, they would naturally oppose giving up the system. Thus though the birth criterion is not appreciated by many, the same process continues even now. "There is both a tradition of continuity and a continuity of tradition in Hindu culture; this continuity has been possible only because of the sponsors and practitioners of that culture felt that the culture had become perfected and needed no improvement" - Subrahmanian (1976).

Continuing with the caste system implicitly providing division of labor has had certain advantages such as, the costs of training and imparting skills to the young people in the corresponding trades got internalized within the families themselves; thereby the governments did not incur any expenditure on extension services. Besides, though it is underemployment, the young were neither searching nor competing for jobs but continued with what their parents and grand parents were doing. Incidentally, even presently the same principle is followed when, as we observe, politicians' sons and daughters become politicians, lawyers' sons and daughters become lawyers, actors' sons and daughters become actors and so on. But this phenomenon is more due to individual choice, and less by birth criterion. Therefore the major difference between the present times and the past is that certain amount of coercion was imposed earlier, whereas that coercion is almost absent nowadays.

In my view, it is not the caste system that created problems for India; rather it is the imposition of certain other features such as untouchability (now practically eradicated), and restrictions on marriages across different castes, etc. that created the problems. In principle, cross-caste marriages were duly recognized in ancient India, but the social treatment meted out to such couples and their offspring became questionable. Cross-border trade could be allowed, but not cross-caste movements of assets and transfers of rights! Such impositions and restrictions became the evil spirits of the system. Unfortunately, a system of distinction became overtime a system of discrimination. Though discrimination against was not a

vEdic culture, the *smRutis* that came up later brought it into the scene.

A lot has been changing in India ever since. Loy (2003) says that the caste system had led to limit the Indian economic growth, a position that was taken by Max Weber too earlier (more on this in a later section). He seems to be unaware that nowadays caste restraints on professional and economic freedom are not so stringent that they affect the Indian economic growth. The caste system has had definite impact on income distribution in the past but not on the economic growth. In fact it has become a pleasure to watch the youth in India over the last two decades. Everyone talks with an admirable sincerity and hope to become a highly paid professional (engineers, doctors, lawyers etc.)¹⁰. Caste as a restraint for getting jobs is nowadays less often mentioned, since the Indian Constitution provides ample scope for realization of their aspirations. However inter-caste relationships continue to significantly complicate the Indian polity, politics and employment in government sector. Caste-feelings of political parties in certain Indian states are quite significant that certain communities hardly hope to get government jobs. Fortunately that feature has no direct impact on economic growth yet.

There are numerous studies by economists and social scientists analyzing the caste issues in India. Akerlof (1976) noting that social variables such as caste, race, religion etc. are indicators to predict the behavior of individuals develops an analytical discrimination model in which people who break caste customs suffer economically. In his model, caste equilibrium, defined as a state of the society where all the caste-customs are obeyed and no single individual would be better off by disobeying the customs, is feasible. The equilibrium is not Pareto optimal and income distribution is skewed along caste-lines. However, when coalitions form under certain conditions the caste-equilibrium may get broken. In my view his model is too simplistic to analyze the caste issue. First, for example, he believes that in the absence of caste all workers would receive

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the same wage. It need not be so because productivity and quality differences across workers would exist even in caste-less society leading to wage differences. Second, efficiency of resource use may differ across castes. For example, householders may prefer to use domestic water-supply, electrical washing machines and detergents to wash soiled clothes themselves at home (or get such work done at a dry-cleaner shop) instead of hiring (or in the absence of) a traditional washer man who washes at river-banks using washing-soda. Obviously these two modes make a vast difference in the direct and indirect social costs involved, ecology and environment. Maybe, the existence of a traditional washer man leads to minimizing social costs. This is a strange case where choice of techniques adopted depends on the caste associated! Third, non-egalitarian income (or expenditure) distribution does not necessarily mean non-egalitarian 'welfare distribution'. That is, though income distribution is non-egalitarian, there is a possibility for the welfare of the poorer households being taken care by other means. Therefore in view of the above arguments, the real problem for analysis is to compare the direct and indirect social costs involved behind the sustainability of the equilibriums under the no-caste and caste-ridden situations – which is not the case with Akerlof's model. Freitas (2006)'s empirical study taking into account bargaining power of castes provides a survey of several other studies.

Subrahmanian (1976) says, Hinduism being based on an exclusively local and unparalleled value system as reflected in the *smRuti-s*, is mostly misunderstood, if not misunderstood. Religion and society for the Hindu were identical or at least parts of the cultural web. "... judgement of Hindu values by alien standards, however current and fashionable, luring and compulsive they might be, is illogical and misleading. This becomes positively dangerous when ethical suggestions are implied in such appraisals."

Hindu Tripod:

According to Subrahmanian (1976), (a) caste system, (b) joint family institution, and (c) belief in the twin and complementary ideas of

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karma and rebirth - these 3 are interrelated and their influence is coterminous with the Hindu way of life. If divested of these 3 influences, Hinduism will perish. The entire system represents a scheme of social values called the ***sanAtana dharma***; and there could be no personal fancies which could legitimately conflict with these.

The two-way identification of *dharma* is important. *ASrama dharma-s* signify duties at individual levels. *varNa dharma-s* identify duties at group levels. A mix of these two together implies a very complicated system. Subrahmanian's "Hindu Tripod" is a result of this mix indicating the daily life of a Hindu.

dharma sankam (Confusion) and Materialism

Bagavad gIta teaches that even death if it befalls while pursuing own *dharma* is 'good' (BG-01). However in many situations one could get confused regarding what is the *dharmic* way to act.

In *rAmAyaNam*, when Rama hesitates to kill Taataka (a female demon), Visvamitra advises: for the sake of public welfare a king should perform his duty whether it involves cruel or soft, sinful or virtuous actions. For those who rule kingdoms it is ancestral duty (*dharma*) – (*rAmAyaNam*, *bAla kAnDa*-02). Rama had to deviate from one *dharma* (of not killing women) to protect a more important *dharma* (public welfare).

Not all *dharmic* principles are the same for everybody, every time and every age. Ravana arguing with Sita, says, 'O timid lady, kidnapping by force and enjoying others' womenfolk is indeed a doubtless *dharma* for demons' (*rAmAyaNam*, *sundara kAnDa*-01). But Ravana's folly was to forget the dictum that says: 'give up *artha* and *kAma* devoid of *dharma*; and also give up that *dharma* devoid of happiness and condemned by all' (MS-4-176).

Etiquette is very important to realize *dharma*, *artha*, and *kAma*. The result of *nIti* (moral etiquette) is acquisition of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kAma* (BPS-2-43). One should treat even a son without *nIti* as an enemy (BPS-2-50). Despite these pronouncements, one may still remain confused at times regarding what are *dharma* and *adharma*.

Though the *Sruti-s* and *smRuti-s* are based on *vEdas* only, sometimes they may differ among themselves. *vEdas* form the root of *dharma*, based on the principle that one's conduct must always be soul-satisfying (MS-2-6). *yAj~javalkya smRuti* (YS-VA-04) says, if two or three *smRuti-s* conflict with each other, the judgment must be based on fairness and tradition. Perhaps this is the reason that even nowadays lawyers and judges often refer to the past judgments passed in similar cases. With regard to social issues, it may be noted that *dharma SAstra* is always stronger than *artha SAstra* (YS-VA-04). *parASara smRuti* however argues that observance of *dharma* is less important than preserving life when the country is in severe danger, or when one is under exile, or ill, or struck by some misfortune (PS-7-36). This was what happened during the Muslims' rule beginning 13th century A.D. as we shall see later.

Nowadays some eminent philosophers argue that Krishna's advice, as per *Bagavad gIta*, to the hesitant Arjuna to go ahead with the Kurukshetra war and perform his duty was inappropriate because it would only lead to killing people (see for example, Fernando Savater (2002)'s "The Questions of Life", chapter: Freedom in Action). One may however note that if *Bagavad gIta* was only a later insertion into the original *mahABAratam*, there is no point in asking whether Krishna's advice was right or wrong. In other words, in the absence of *Bagavad gIta*, we don't know whether Arjuna really wailed over the war, and Krishna had to convince him. Besides, the main purpose of the *Bagavad gIta* does not seem to be regarding Krishna's advice, but to present the Hindu philosophy comprehensively. The story part became simply a cooked up entity.

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One may also note that Yudhishtira, supposed to be *dharmarAja*, too repented over the war but only after it was over!

sanAtana dharma though argued that अहिंसा परमो धर्मः - *ahiMsA paramO dharmaH*, warfare was not viewed as a mere violent affair of killing humans and animals. Similarly, though it argued against non-vegetarian food as it involves killing innocent animals, yet slaughter was permitted for ritual sacrificial fire. We have however reversed the position. We merely argue against non-violence but yet indulge in reckless slaughter and ecological destruction for our non-vegetarian food! Later we shall discuss non-vegetarianism.

Other confusion is about the materialistic aspirations under the Hinduism, with its emphasis on spirituality. Sometimes there appears to be choice between *dharmā*, *artha* and *kAma*. This aspect has implications for the materialism. Spirituality need not conflict with materialism. Subrahmanian (1976) argues that though Hindus, "did not found overseas empires, they did indulge in war and government, trade and commerce, manufacture and agriculture; royal government was a very material and secular organization." One may however note that influence of spirituality works at individual level, not at the aggregate society level. For that matter, even some sages indulged in vengeance, quarrels and wars! The basic issue is, how (un)important are the materialistic comforts and the degree of such comforts at the society level and at individual level. In *rAmAyaNam*, sage Bharadwaja with the power of his penance treated Bharata with royal comforts; but he never enjoyed them himself. So did sage Vasishtha to Viswamitra when the latter was still a king. That implies, while material comforts could be quite important for some, they do not mean real happiness for some others. Later on we shall deal with the issue of 'happiness'.

Some people prefer *artha* and *dharmā*, some only *kAma* and *dharmā*, some only *artha*, and yet some only *dharmā*. But one should have all the three (MS-2-224). This verse indirectly stresses on the importance of materialism in the human lives.

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During the rule of the king Atithi (see *raGuvamSam*), the subjects didn't give up *dharma* for the sake of *artha* and *kAma*, nor *artha* and *kAma* for the sake of *dharma*. Neither, they gave up *artha* for the sake of *kAma*, nor *kAma* for the sake of *artha*. They followed *dharma*, *artha* and *kAma* with equal importance (*raGuvamSam*-17-01). Narada's query to Yudhishtira in *mahABAratam* may also be noted. 'I hope you are balancing *dharma* – *artha* - *kAma* judiciously. Hope no time *dharma* is sacrificed for the *artha* sake, nor *artha* for *dharma* sake, nor both of them for *kAma* sake' (MB-SBP-01). In fact Narada's list of queries is rather too long because one expects a lot from the ruler(s) seriously concerned with public welfare. That leads us to discuss the role of a king and his *dharma*.

***rAja dharma* (King's role)**

Many *smRuti-s* deal with duties and responsibilities of the king (Kshatriyaas), Sudras and Vaisyas. The king should protect the Kshatriya *dharma* (BM-1-136). The only *dharma* for a Kshatriya is to rule the people (MS-7-144). The king is responsible for any sins committed in the kingdom, and the royal priest is responsible for the sins committed by the king (BM-Introduction). Therefore he should also see that *varNa-ASrama dharma-s* are strictly adhered to and '*svadharma*' (prescribed duty) is followed by all (YS-AA-01). In other words, he should enforce the occupations of the respective castes - see MS-8, verses 420 to 424. The king particularly should see that Vaisyas and Sudras do perform their duties, because if they don't the world ends up in doom (MS-8-418).

The king is supposed to be truthful and faithful in all respects (BM-1-96). Rains are adequate and crops grow plentiful in that country where the king is truthful and *dhArmik* (BM-2-9). Kings are like fathers as well as sons (BM-2-149). Narada's query to Yudhishtira: Are you like father and mother easily approachable to all the people? (MB-SBP-02)

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Discussing personal conduct and character of the king, BM mentions that he should avoid looking at others' womenfolk (BM-1-104). He should not be enamoured with garlands or perfumes (BPS-1-19). He should treat his adherents, friends, ministers, cousins and relatives all equally (i.e. no nepotism) and perform traditional *dharma* (BPS-1-45). It is always a blunder not to keep up the scheduled time (BM-2-405 & 407). Anyone including the king should not indulge in long arguments unless they are pleasant (BPS-3-6). He should not indulge in nor encourage betting. Betting is of two kinds; one utilizing lifeless dice etc. (*jUdam*) and the other using goats, hen, oxen etc. (*samAhvayam*). Both of them ruin the country (MS-9-221).

BM argues that the king should collect taxes in time to protect *dharma* and the country. MS-7 deals with care to be taken during warfares. When the king wins an enemy's kingdom and brings it under his own rule, he should not interfere with the customs and traditions of the people there (YS-AA-02). BM further argues: the king should regard people, mines and human settlements of the enemy's country in the same way as he does in his own country. Even remembering their faults does no good. Mines and settlements in his native country and in the enemy's country should be of equal concern. From the scientific view, destroying them is a great blunder. Therefore every effort must be put in to protect them just as one protects his own bejeweled throne (BM-2-188 to 190). Brahmins, Kshatriyas, young and subordinate rulers from foreign countries must be respected just as his own. Someone who seeks protection, however sinful he is, must be protected (BPS-3-50 & 51). These principles are very important for us to note for the reason that later we contrast this ideology with what happened under the subsequent Muslim and British rules.

King Dushyanta says, "For our *puruvamSIs*, this has been the tradition that during their regimes of protecting the earth they live in grand palaces when they are young; and later in old age they live in huts under trees in forests along with their wives" (*aBij~jAna*

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SAkuntalam-7). How many of our present ministers comply with such discipline! Didn't we witness a chief minister ruling while he was on death bed in one of the hospitals in USA? Even in recent state assembly elections some candidates contested though they are already in their eighties. Did any of our past presidents and prime ministers ever live in simple houses after their terms were over? A Telugu newspaper Andhra Jyoti (21-05-2011) gave details of the house of a former Member of Parliament. It is alleged to have a compound of 5807 square meters in a posh locality in a metropolitan city, with the house area of 88490 square feet. The house meant for four family members is supposed to have fourteen escalators, ten lifts, a mini theatre, libraries, squash court, gyms, thirty bed rooms, several large bath rooms, and security cameras!

Public Administration

Several classical works including MS-7 deal with the intricacies of public administration. These are reflected in the following episodes as well as treatises.

The king may appoint 7 or 8 cabinet ministers after testing them (MS-7-54). He may appoint some more ministers if needed. Several texts point out how a king should conduct his rule. *rAmAyaNam* (*bAla kAnDa*, 7th *sarga*) describes the rule of Dasarataha, who as per the dictum had eight cabinet ministers who are honest, diligent and duty-bound. The ministers never speak untruth due to anger or due to selfish desires. Tested by the king for their good-heartedness and skills in business, they even punish their sons if the situation demands.

King Dilipa took care of his people in education, protection and maintenance so much that he is virtually their father; real parents only caused their birth (*raGuvamSam* -1-1). King Atithi was protecting sages from any hindrance and protecting people's wealth

from thieves while collecting one sixth of the produce as taxes from all producers (*raGuvamSam* -17-02).

Visting Yudhishtira, sage Narada inquires about the wellbeing of the kingdom: Hope your senior officers are not under the influence of your enemies, nor are they merely enjoying life with the earnings made! (MB-SBP-03). Hope you give away thousand fools to obtain even one knowledgeable. Only the knowledgeable can save you in troubles (MB-SBP-04). Do you give the troops their rations and salaries in time? Otherwise, it would be a great betrayal. Delaying the rations and salaries leads to mutiny (MB-SBP-05). Hope any individual who shines in performing his work gets appreciation and some additional salary or ration! (MB-SBP-06).

Kautilya describes the duties of various departments which include allotment of arable and non-arable lands, agriculture, pastures, forest lands, revenue, accounts & audit, treasury, jewelry, mines, factories, yarns, liquors, trade, weights & measures, shipping, customs, armoury, cattle, horses, elephants, chariots, forts, and city maintenance. Kautilya also argues for severe vigilance of the officers, since usually it is believed that, if officers of low income spend a lot they might actually be corrupt – (KA-AP-01). Also see Shama Sastry (1967) and Sinha (1976).

SAnti parvam in *mahABAratam* (while Arjuna addresses the depressed Yudhishtira after the war) elaborates on the need for punishments for various castes and the four *ASrama* holders. Manu too argues that if the king does not resort to punishments, strong people harm the weak people as though the latter are the baited fish (MS-7-20). King is the strength for the weak (NTS-02). He should ensure that strong people do not harm the weak in the country (BM-2-323). He should take serious view of the crimes such as destroying standing crops and bridges, setting fire, cheating, and felling trees etc. and punish the offenders (BM-1-75 & 76). He should also protect several things including the sacred idols of Gods (BM-2-145).

Kalidasa wonders, "Alas, where is the rest for those involved in public affairs! Just as the Sun keeps on travelling in his chariot, and as the air blows day and night, and as the Sesha bears the earth without any break, the king also has to always perform his duty having taken a sixth part (as tax) from the public." (*aBij~jAna SAkuntalam* -5).

Law and Justice (*vyavahAra nirNayam*)

स्वस्तिः प्रजाभ्यः परिपालयन्ताम्, न्याय्येन मार्गेण महिं महीशाः । "swastiH prajAByaH paripAlayantAm, nyAyyEna mArgENa mahim mahISAH" – Let the kings rule their kingdoms in just ways such that peoples' welfare is assured. This verse is often recited as a prayer in Hindu rituals. When *anyAyyam* (injustice) occurs, laws, courts and judgments become necessary.

Eighteen types of litigations are mentioned in MS-8 which include non-clearance of loans, selling away others' property, taking back what was once offered, boundary disputes, not keeping up promises, fighting, theft, grabbing others' womenfolk, etc. How to ensure justice in all such categories? Here first we shall discuss justice in general, and in the next section, two important issues related to property and interest rates on loans.

Sinners think that no one is watching them while they commit sins. But the Gods residing in their souls always do watch (MS-8-85). When a king protects people he gets 1/6th share of their *dhArm*ic deeds; when he doesn't then also he gets 1/6th share, but of the consequent *adharma* (MS-8-304). Therefore the king must be careful to ensure justice, which should be delivered with the help of a jury consisting of learned Brahmins and other knowledgeable. The court of the jury must contain honest members who know *dharma* and treat friends and foes equally in the matters of justice (YS-VA-05). It is not necessary that (only) Brahmins must be included as members; (instead) the king may also appoint Kshatriyaas and Vaisyaas. Brahmins who are not well versed with religious rites and *mantra-s*

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are not really enlightened, and they live only utilizing their caste name. A gathering of such 'Brahmins' even in thousands cannot turn out to be an enlightened '*pariShat*' (council of intellectuals) (PS-8-4). PS further says that un-enlightened namesake Brahmins are unfit to be in the council (PS-8-15). They are merely wooden toys, waterless wells, eunuchs, etc. and are worse than Sudraas. What three or four enlightened say could be the *dharma*, instead of what thousands of fools say (PS-8-7). Even one person if he is well versed with the *vEda-s*, rituals and other relevant aspects can constitute a council (PS-8-13). Same view is expressed in *bauddhAyana smRuti* also.

If any fool without knowing *dharma SAstra*, suggests expiation procedures for the sins committed, though the actual sinner is purified, the sin gets transferred to the fool (PS-8-6). The members of the jury who supported that meeting in which *dharma* loses to *adharma*, and truth loses to falsehood, would lose their lives too. Whoever causes loss of *dharma*, he himself would get lost; and whoever protects the *dharma* he remains protected (MS-8-14 & 15).

yAj~javalkya smRuti is even stronger on this issue. It says, if members of the jury either due to nepotism, or vested self interest, or fear pass a judgment that goes against the tenets of the *SAstra-s*, they (irrespective of their caste) have to be fined, the fine being twice the amount that the loser of the litigation has to pay (YS-VA-01). This is indeed a remarkable dictum highly relevant in the case of corrupt judiciary. Equally relevant is the dictum related to wrong judgments passed by lower courts, and cases reopened in higher courts (YS-VA-03). If the king were to reopen the cases since the members of the jury did not deliver proper justice, then the jury members as well as the earlier winner have to be similarly penalized. How things could be different if these principles could be implemented in the contemporary world!

Another interesting dictum from *yAj~javalkya smRuti* is about the sincere effort that the king has to put in. One should remember that witnesses may not always tell the truth. Sometimes depending on

their articulation the case may even get wrongly focused. Hence, the jury should first try to establish the truth behind a case on its natural conditions. Only when it could not be done so, witnesses should be relied on (YS-VA-02).

NS prohibits any abusive speech offending the native country, or in the name of a caste and or a family. One who calls, an outcast an outcast, or a thief a thief is a criminal. *manu smRuti* (MS-8) too prohibits inter-caste abuses and offences.

Action started in the company of relatives, friends, knowedegable, and the wisemen is the best. A decision in regard to punishments etc. is the best if it is unanimous. If a decision is arrived at finally unanimously, though there was a division in the beginning, it is the second- best (BPS-4-30, 34 & 35).

The traditions and customs vary a great extent across various regions in the vast country. The quality of the judgment should also be consistent to the peoples' beliefs. West and Majid (1919) documented hundreds of court cases in India relating to inheritance, partition and adoption; and interpreted them according to the *dharmā Sāstra-s* followed in the various parts of the country. They argue, "The *vEda-s* and the *mImAnsa-s* are more studied in the South of India than in the East, and the jurists of Behar and Bengal take the Nyaya or dialectic philosophy, of which Gautama is the acknowledged author, for rules of reasoning to interpret the law to suit the requirements of a progressive society. Impelled by ideals of progress, civilisation and expansion, the Hindus spread all over the Indian Peninsula, carrying their laws with them. They came into contact with other peoples with different habits of thought and of action. Sages arose to meet the emergency. Thus to the sources of the law of divine origin we find Manu adding "approved or immemorial usages" or custom of the people and equity that which was acceptable to reason. Interpretation of the law moved apace, and jurists wrote with reference to the needs of a particular locality. Schools of law thus sprang into existence. Wherever joint property

system had taken firm root, based upon agricultural life or political ideals, the Mitakshara had to be interpreted with due consideration of the local wants; wherever the patriarchal system had superseded the joint property system, as in Bengal, perhaps consequent upon the ideals inculcated by Gautama, the individualistic system had to be introduced. In the extreme south, the people of which were regarded as less civilised, and to which the ray of civilisation had little penetrated, the matriarchal system still held sway. Thus it was in the eleventh century that we find five Schools of the Hindu Law as definitely formed—namely, the Maharashtra, the Dravida, the Benares, the Mithila and the Gauriya. This may have been due to the impact of the Hindu civilisation with the Islamic Revival in the shape of reorganisation brought into existence powerful kingdoms which patronised the compilation of the various works based upon the interpretation of the Mitakshara leading up to the formation of the various schools which are grouped under that head; while in Bengal, where the patriarchal system had replaced the joint-property system, we find Jimutavahana in the fifteenth century asserting the force of the Dayabhaga as an individualistic system much on the same lines as was taught by Islam.” – West and Majid (1919).

The later Muslim rulers in general did not bother about the Hindu laws. No judicial system / courts worth mentioning existed. “Each community had its own personal law which it administered through its own agents – *quazis* for the Muslims, and pandits and caste or village *panchAyats* for the Hindu” – Spear (1978).

The British rule formalized the judicial system. However for the British, non-uniformity of the Hindu laws among the *SAstra-s* caused severe problems. Problems also arose due to different languages, different traditions across the country, and the Sanskrit language in which the *dharma SAstra-s* were written. The Britishers were not aware of any of these things. Initially when the judicial responsibilities were carried out, the Britishers relied on the help provided by the knowledgeable local Brahmin *panDit-s*. But later on doubts arose about the honesty and integrity of the *panDit-s*. Then,

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massive exercises of translations (some of which are still available) of the *dharma SAstra-s* were undertaken, with the efforts and support of some of the Governors-General. That gave rise to developing Anglo-Hindu Law which was broadly in two phases: years 1772-1864 (reliance on the *panDits'* views and interpretations of the *SAstra-s*) and 1864-1947 (India became a part of the British Empire, and the court *pandit-s* were abandoned).

British judiciary began in India in 1726. In 1773-74, with the East India Company's Regulating Act, Supreme Court was established at Calcutta; in 1780 it was decided to apply only the Hindu / Islamic Laws as appropriate to the cases. During 1800-03 Supreme Courts came up in Bombay and Madras, which became High Courts in 1861. The 1858 "Act for the Better Government of India" sought for non-interference with Hinduism / Islam as long as they did not threaten British sovereignty. In 1909, Indians were allowed to participate in the judiciary. 1935 saw the establishment of Federal Court which was the precursor for the present Supreme Court of India established in 1950.

Property & Interest Rates

manu smRuti mentions seven 'right' ways of earnings (and ten ways of living) (MS-10-115 & 116). These are due to inheritance, profits or donations, purchase, success, interest earned, wages, and gifts. The first three are for all castes. The fourth corresponds to Kshatriyas; the fifth and sixth are for Vaisyas and Sudras; and the seventh is meant for Brahmins. One should live with the earnings made righteously. The one who lives upon the money earned by foul means is unfit to perform any duty (PS-12-46).

It is very difficult to know how the concept of private property arose. *kRuShNa yajurvEda* mentions land ownership and land-related disputes. *vAyu purANa* mentions that when people fought over productive resources such as fields, trees, herbs, water etc., might

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became right, and the strong managed to establish property rights. It is also possible that while agriculture was still in developing stages, kings might have freely allowed people to work hard and convert waste lands to arable lands. Thus when the tillers developed the lands and settled in, they got permanent ownership rights over time. Apparently these rights included transferability rights under sales as well as under tenancy, though land is prohibited from being a business deal¹¹. Sometimes when the kings won wars they gifted land to the landless soldiers, and wet lands to dryland owners, and so on. Kautilya mentions several principles on how a king should allot arable lands to the subjects with inheritance rights, and take away the lands from those who do not till. Some *smRuti-s* extensively discuss the payment deals between land owners and tenants. For example, what to do if the tenant does not cultivate for some reason or the other after leasing in the land?

Kroll (2007) summarises the efforts of several Indian philosophers from 13th century to 18th century AD in accurately defining the concepts of property, ownership and rights established by trade (i.e. sales and purchases). These philosophers include Gangesa Upadhyaya (of 13th C AD known for *tattva chintAmaNi*) Vardhamana Upadhyaya, Sankara Misra, Raghunatha Siromani (of 16th C AD known for *padArtha tattva nirUpaNa*), Ramabhadra Sarvabhauma, Jayarama (known for *kAraka vyAKya*), Gokulanatha (known for *nyAya siddhAnta tattva vivEka*) and many others and anonymous *svattva rahasya*. Sivakumar and Sivakumar (1993) contain some detailed explanation on village-level properties during the 18th century A.D. Tamilnadu. The entire land in a village was basically a common property kept under the control of a *kaniyatchikarar*. *Kaniyatchi* in Tamil means control of the land. The villagers used to share the benefits in proportion to their input contributions. However the village land was not allowed to be sold. This system may be contrasted with the system of *mirasi* which implies land with inheritance rights. Along with the land eight other categories of rightful enjoyment also come under the *Kaniyatchi* system, referred to as *aShTaBOgaswAmitvam* ('निधि निक्षेप पाषाणं सिद्ध साध्य जलान्वितम्

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अक्षिणि आगामि संयुक्तं अष्ट भोग स्वामित्वं – *nidhi nikShEpa pAShANam siddha sAdhya jalAnvitam, akShiNi AgAmi samyuktam aShTa BOga swAmittvam*⁷): treasure trove, deposits, rocks, minerals, waters, produce etc.

*nArada smRuti*¹² (NS) identifies that wealth as property involves three kinds of activity, namely preservation, growth and enjoyment. It describes 21 categories of wealth accumulation. The first fourteen of them are by righteous means such as gains made by using knowledge, inheritance, austerities, interest earned, commerce, gifts etc. The last seven relate to black earnings such as bribes, extractions, gambling, fraud etc. Thus virtue and sin are attached to the way wealth is acquired, and the consequences are supposed to follow in due course.

In *mahABAratam*, Vidura elightens that only the three, i.e. wife, son and servant are without their own property since their earnings belong to their master (MB-UP-VN-04). Rights of inheritance will be discussed later.

MS-8 extensively discusses interest rates. Brahmins and Kshatriyas should not charge any interest; even if they have to for the sake of *dharma*, the interest rate should only be marginal (MS-10-117). *nArada smRuti* defines four kinds of interest rates: a rate if the interest is cleared on daily basis, another rate if it is monthly repayment, a higher rate which is voluntarily offered by the loanee, and a rate applicable to the already accumulated interest (P-YS-01).

Economy & Agriculture

Different economies within ancient India consisted of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, mining and metallurgy, and services. Except mines, rest all was mostly private enterprise. Being agrarian, and with a lot of insecurity and uncertainties, 'stock' concept was natural.

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Though primarily cultivation was supposed to be the duty of Vaisyas, PS permits all castes in view of the importance of food. By 2500 B.C. the pastoral stage was gradually fading away and agriculture was becoming the main occupation of the peoples in India (see Saran (1957)). Gradually crop culture got vastly diversified. Ample proof of the diversity is known through *namakam-chamakam*, which is a collection of verses taken from *Rug vEda* and *yajur vEda*. In one of the verses in the *chamakam*, the devotee prays to the Lord that he may be granted milk, sweet drinks, ghee (boiled butter), honey, smooth agricultural operations, timely rains, arable and fertile lands, trees and shrubs, cereals, millets, paddy, barley, pulses such as black gram, green gram, Bengal gram, sesame, castor, wheat, and rice of superior variety and quick variety, never falling hungry (*chamakam-4*). The Tamil classical *Tirukkural* mentions the connection between farming and poverty.

Though people believed that, if the king is truthful and *dhArmic* it would rain adequately and crops grow plentiful, the uncertainties of rainfall and importance of irrigation were also simultaneously realized. That is reflected in Narada's query to Yudhishtira in *mahABAratam - saBA parvam*: Are the agriculturists contented? Since agriculture is rain dependent, do you, taking 1/4th of the produce, care to construct tanks and lakes filled with water? Do the farmers have enough seeds and food? Are you providing them loan facility? Hope the economic activities in your kingdom are carried on by the fair-minded persons (MB-SBP-07).

If wrong or bad or adulterated seeds are sold, the offenders must be guillotined. If someone's seeds are carried off to some other's field, and result in a crop, the crop only belongs to the owner of the field, not to the owner of the seeds (PS-4-22).¹³ If agricultural implements, or weapons or medicines are stolen, the king must punish the offenders (MS-9-291 & 293). A wise man should not use the services of a bull which is hungry, thirsty, tired, and weak. Similarly disabled and diseased oxen should not be made to work. Only able-bodied and strong oxen may be used for half a day, and

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then they be given bath (PS-2-3 & 4).¹⁴ However despite the best care taken the above kind of sins become knowingly or unknowingly unavoidable. All sins can be overcome by offering 1/6th of the agricultural produce to king, 1/21st to Gods, and 1/30th to Brahmins. Kshatriya too may cultivate. Vaisyas and Sudraas may cultivate, do business, and practice artistry. This is the traditional prescription of *dharma* for all the four castes (PS-2-12 & 13). One cannot however expiate the sin of land-grabbing even if he constructs wells and tanks, and performs hundreds of sacrificial rituals, and offers hundreds of cows (PS-12-52). *bRuhhaspati smRuti* too conveys the same dictum. Kazanas (2009 & Undated) extensively discusses land tenures during *vEdic* and post-*vEdic* periods of India.

Industry & Mining

Industry and large scale production as we understand today did not exist in the past. Small level factories existed. Blacksmithy, goldsmithy, carpentry, spinning and weaving, embroidery, dyeing, tailoring, making agricultural implements and war weapons, manufacturing salt etc. were common. Several other kinds of artisans and craftsmen too existed. The remains of the ancient Indian civilization unearthed at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Kausambi and the various inscriptions found all over the country show that the development of goldsmithy, blacksmithy, carpentry, ivory-carving, ceramics industries and spinning and weaving of yarn and cloth was phenomenal in ancient India. Saran (1957) conveys his beliefs that "so much development was to a great extent the benediction of the system of *varNa* and castes which, by virtue of its occupational bias, made specialisation in particular arts and crafts possible, and helped in the passage of such knowledge from one generation to the other. It necessitates a study of the system of *varNa* and Castes and the purpose such a system was supposed to serve."

Kautilya advocates constant vigilance, inspection, controls and regulations on industry. Mining, industries and trade in gold and

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silver are supposed to be State monopolies. The government was supposed to engage in foreign trade and set up large-scale enterprises in liquors, textiles etc.

Trade & Inflation

Trade a distinctly important domestic and international economic activity was an essential duty of Vaisyas.

The king should promote marketing in rural and urban areas in the interest of all (BM-1-94). Ayodhya city was shining with tax-paying subordinate kings and foreign traders who had come for trade purposes (*rAmAyaNam*, *bAla kAnDa*-03). During the regime of Atithi, traders were freely moving around all over the country as if the rivers are fountains, woods are gardens, and hills are their guesthouses, and carrying their business activities without a trace of obstruction or interference from anybody (*raGuvamSam*-17-03). Tamilaham during the *sangam* period (3rd Century BC to 3rd century AD) had extensive trade relations with Egypt and Europe. "Many people of many countries speaking many languages crowded in the bazaar streets of Madurai, ... the foreigners included those who had come from outside Tamilaham to make wholesale purchases of Tamilian goods for sale elsewhere or those who had brought demended goods from foreign places for delivery here" - Subrahmanian (1980).

External trade was possible in two ways: (a) natives taking Indian goods abroad and bringing foreign goods to sell in domestic markets, and (b) foreigners themselves bringing foreign goods to sell in India and taking native goods abroad. It is difficult to ascertain which pattern of external trade was more prevalent. One point has to be noted here, i.e. the erstwhile India being small, small countries, goods coming from Kashmir to Kerala could also be accounted as international trade, which would only be domestic trade now. Anyway, trade with far off countries was also widely

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prevalent. Apparently, 300 Greek ships a year used to sail between India and Greco-Roman world (consisting of Greece, Italy, Egypt etc. during a few centuries around Christ's birth) amounting to 300,000 tons of annual trade (see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>).

Administering the prices (regulation) seems to have covered a significant part of the trade. Though coinage did exist even in the past periods, coins were mostly used in dealing with foreign trade only. Most of the commodity exchanges were based on barter. Subrahmanian (1980) confirms, "in view of the wide prevalence of the system of barter, it may be supposed that coins were used for purposes of exchange mostly in the case of foreign trade." Even wages and salaries (for serfs and agricultural laborers, teachers, washer men, barbers, etc.) were paid in kind, but not in cash. Therefore inflation does not seem to have been a serious problem in those times.

While the traders were supposed to sell the goods only at the price daily stipulated by the king, the king however should set it at profitable level for the traders. In the case of perishable domestic goods the profit rate could be five percent, whereas if the goods are imported the rate could be ten percent. In the case of fixing the price for imported goods, incidental expenses related to bringing the goods from abroad, locally payable taxes, and return travel costs etc. must be taken care of. And the finally set price must be to the advantage of both the sellers and buyers (YS-SPP-04).

Cartels, Collusions, Adulteration and Middlemen: Merchants who conspire to prevent sales, or play with prices to affect sales and purchases are punishable. Middlemen who cause losses to merchants or purchasers by false means are punishable. Adulteration of grains, oils, alkalis, salts, perfumes, and medicines is punishable. The entire difference between the sale price of the merchant and purchase price of the buyer is not income or profit. The trader must pay some part to the middlemen for their livelihood. (Punishment

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rates are also specified here). The profit rate allowed is 5 percent for the local produce, and 10 percent for the foreign goods (KA-VR-01).

YS also discusses administered prices, price-wars, forming cartels and collusions – a highly relevant problem of imperfect markets even today. Even after knowing that certain level of price was stipulated by the king, if some of the traders (including artisans) group together and violate that price level, and also if such a group sells the goods at a price that becomes disadvantageous to other traders who are not members of the group, the king should severely punish them (YS-SPP-02). In case such a cartel plays with their own price setting (raising or lowering) in the face of competition from the goods arrived from abroad, such a cartel should be severely punished (YS-SPP-03).

In the case of excess supplies, the market superintendent should centralize the sales, and use this for daily wages (a kind of food for work program). Sale of non-centralized stock should be prohibited until the central stocks are exhausted (KA-VR-02).

The chapter, "*sAhasE prAsangika prakaraNam*" in the YS deals with the punishments given for cheating in the trade either by fault weighing, measuring or adulteration. Two examples are as follows. If the cheating comes to about one-eighth of the total, a fine of two hundred coins, and beyond that pro-rata, should be imposed on the seller. If articles such as medicines, oils, salt, perfumes, paddy, gur are adulterated, a fine of sixteen coins should be imposed (YS-SPP-01). The problem of cheating never gets outdated! Notice later Allauddin Khilji's policy in this regard (see section on Khilji dynasty, later).

Smuggling was considered as a serious trade related crime. The entire property of the smuggler was to be confiscated if certain prohibited goods are smuggled out abroad (MS-8-399). Shah (1954) extensively discusses foreign trade since *vEdic* times, providing details on sea-borne trade, trade patterns, exports and imports,

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trade origins and destinations, goods prohibited from trade (arms, armour, war-chariots, animals, food grains etc.), goods exempted from duties, etc. The following exposition from Shah (1954) is particularly notable:

"Within the basic conception of the ultimate origin and justification of all Foreign Trade, Indian writers are as prolific and penetrating in their ideas on Trade, as their conferers of any age or country. Discussion of the Theory of Trade, on the basic consideration just mentioned, involves also consideration of the Theory of Value, or the making of prices, or values, in exchange which includes the cost of Production, or the Sacrifice Theory of value, Scarcity Theory of value, and the Utility Theory of value. The interaction of Demand and Supply fixing or determining prices of commodities, (which may then be fixed or regulated by public decrees) is implied also, in these ideas. The utility of an article to a particular individual at a given moment, or in a given place, may vary – an elaboration of the theory of "Marginal Utility" The verses, however, of the great Economist Shukra Acharya make it abundantly clear that –

*ratnaBUtam tu tat tat syAt yadyad apratimam Buvi,
yathA dESam yathA kAlam mUlyam sarvasya kalpayEt,
na mUlyam guNahInasya vyavahAra akShamasya cha.*

Whatever is without another of the same kind (apratimam) is as good as a gem. We should take the value of each commodity according to time and place. But there can be no value (price?) of that which is incapable of being exchanged (vyavahAra akShamasya)

Earlier still, in his famous Treatise, this legendry savant holds –

*yEna vyayEna samsiddhaH tad vyayaH tasya mUlyakam,
sulaBa asulaBatvAt cha aguNatva guNa samSrayaH,
yathA kAmat padArthAnAm ardhham hInAdhikam Bavet.*

Whatever one pays for obtaining a thing must be taken to be the cost or value (Mulyam of that article). Value (Price) is determined by the easiness, or otherwise of obtaining, and also by the inherent utility or lack of it." - Shah (1954).

Rug Veda mentions possibilities of unequal exchange. Suppose, someone sells a very valuable article at a far low price, and only later he realizes that unequal exchange took place. It is too late now to re-bargain since the deal was over and the transaction already took place! (RV-04). Rug Veda mentions trade at several instances. In one of the hymns while Indra was asked not to act as a businessman (मा पणिर्भूः अस्मद् अधि प्रवृद्ध - Indra, without being a businessman, increase our wealth), in another hymn even a sage called Dirghasrava was referred to as a trader.

Public Finance

Obviously a healthy treasury is very important. "Income from mines is a great source for building up treasury; treasury oozes power. Thus the earth (i.e. kingdom) shines both by the treasury and the power" (KA-AKK-01). A king should never collect anything from the public that is not due to him even if he is in a poor state. But he should collect everything genuinely due to him however small that is, even though he is already rich (MS-8-170). This is a principle of fairness. He should impose taxes fairly. He should not collect taxes from traditionalists, sincere devotees, women, kids, students of residential schools, and servants working in the houses of upper castes, blind, dumb, deaf, sick patients, and ascetics who are unable to get offerings from the public (AS-2-01). Certain services such as crossing canals and rivers should be provided free to certain categories such as pregnant ladies, ascetics, teachers (only Brahmins in those days) and kids (MS-8-407). This corresponds to our current subsidization programs.

The king protects people taking $1/6^{\text{th}}$ of their income (BDS-1-10-1). MS-7 advises that the king should collect taxes from traders after considering their own expenses. Tax collection should be painless. Tax should be $1/50^{\text{th}}$ in the case of cattle and gold. From the produce of food grains, tax could be $1/6^{\text{th}}$, or $1/8^{\text{th}}$, or $1/12^{\text{th}}$. On the rest it could be $1/6^{\text{th}}$. No taxes should be collected from sincere

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Brahmins. PS views that one can get rid of all the sins by offering $1/6^{\text{th}}$ of the produce to the king, $1/21^{\text{st}}$ to Gods, and $1/30^{\text{th}}$ to learned Brahmins (PS-2-12 & 13).

Banerjea (1916) reports that by the fourth century B.C. the system of public finance had reached a very advanced stage. He also reports from *SukranIti* that only one-half of the State revenue was to be spent for six purposes of administration in the following proportions: (1) the salaries of headmen, one-twelfth; (2) the army, three-twelfths; (3) charities, one-twenty-fourth; (4) expenses incurred for works of public utility, one-twenty-fourth; (5) salaries of officials, one-twenty-fourth; and (6) personal expenses of the king and of the royal household, one-twenty-fourth. Enough money should be in the treasury to cover public expenses for twenty years. Narada's query to Yudhishtira: are you checking that your own expenditure does not exceed a half of your income, if not one-fourth or one-third of it (MB-SBP-08)? Currently in India not only the savings of the public sector are negative, but also "wages & salaries" is a dominating component within the government expenditure.

Taxes and procurement: One of the chapters in *kauTilya artha SAstra* prescribes salary structure for the government's employees. In another chapter, treasury build-up is taken up. This part stipulates the rates of tax collections applicable to cultivators, merchants, animal farm households, and artisans. The king may collect one-fourth or one-third of the harvest depending on the capacity to pay from the rich cultivators in the good rainfall regions. He should not collect from the cultivators with low quality land, from the households who generally participate in public works, from the people who are poor and from those who live in border areas. Rather he should help them with cattle and grains in return for their services in developing waste lands. If the king wants further amounts of grains beyond these taxes, he may purchase up to a maximum of one-fourth of what is remaining with the cultivators after the requirements of seed, feed are netted out, with payment made in gold. Though this corresponds to the current food

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procurement policy, such procurement in the ancient times was probably meant mainly for royal purposes and not for the purpose of public distribution. Further, certain categories were mentioned from whom such procurement should not be made. Later on, collection of taxes from merchants, animal farm owners, forestry, artisans and even brothels were discussed. Details are avoided here (KA-KS-01).

Subrahmanian (1980) discussing Chola and Pandyan kings however says, "the distinction between private domestic royal expenditure and public expenditure was not understood; and how the royal revenues were spent could not be inquired into. In short, there was no 'audit'."

Having collected the taxes if a king does not protect his people, he would go to hell (MS-8-307). King Dilipa collected taxes from the public only to spend for the public welfare, just as the Sun evaporates water from the earth only to return it as rain (*raGuvamSam*-1-2). The attitudes of the later Muslim rulers may be contrasted in this regard. Currently we have been experiencing the fact that people pay taxes, but no public works of equivalent worth get done.

Public Works

The king should get some important works done in the interests of public, which include roads-building, land works related to crops, water works, chowltrees, and temple works etc. (BM-1-89 & 90). BM-3 elaborates on kings' duties in providing health care.

Water:

Chanakya says, water, food and courteous sentence are three gems on this earth (CN-02). When king Raghu welcomed the sage Kautsa, one of his enquiries to the sage was as follows: Is the water in those rivers pure and safe where you bathe, offer worship and leave a sixth part of your food on the banks for the sake of kings

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(*raGuvamSam* -5)? Importance of water and water works was expressed not only in the context of agriculture, but also for many other purposes. In a melodious *vEdic* prayer called *mantra puShpam* the importance of knowing the interdependence between the sun, moon, air, clouds, fire and water is gloriously sung – “Know that whoever realizes this interdependence would possess virility, progeny and cattle” (*mantra puShpam*). The interdependence between fire-rituals, the sun, rains, food and people is described in the MS (MS-3-76).

BM is more explicit about water, mentioning canals drawn from different sources which must be protected by the king. Incoming and outgoing water flows must be taken into account. The source of the water could be a waterfall, or natural resources. All these must be scientifically protected by the king for general welfare of the people and the country. Water is the source of life. Water not only causes crop-growth but also cleanses. Keeping welfare in mind the creator made it available both as surface and ground water. A king should utilize it for the growth of crops and wealth. Food is the God sustaining life on earth. Only food is offered into the sacrificial fire to please the Gods. Therefore a king with every effort must see that crops grow, and protect the crops and all beings (BM-2-193 to 203). Readers may be aware that in India while provision of irrigation facility is an important policy of agricultural development, the number of tanks has drastically come down since 1950s; thus tank irrigation has been losing its importance.

Whoever digs a new well, or repairs and freshens up an old well, his entire family lineage gets uplifted and he himself enjoys heaven. Same is the result when gardens are taken care of (BS-62 & 63). A river with a fast moving flow is clean. If wells and tanks become polluted for some reason, they may be cleansed with mixing ‘*pancha gavyam*’ - PS-7.

mahABAratam - *anuSAsana parvam*: Whoever digs a tank he is worshipped in all the three worlds. Tanks result in achieving *dharma*,

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wealth and wants. Water from a proper tank serves many. Gods, humans, *gandharva-s*, ancestors, demons, and other movable and immovable beings depend on water in tanks. Water is not easily available beyond this world. Therefore offering a drink of water brings eternal happiness. Such an offer is the best of all. So always keep offering water (MB-ASP-02). As a custom, Hindus first offer water to any visitor. The notable point here is the difficulty in getting water beyond this world, i.e. the earth. Therefore Hindus make water as an essential complement while making any offers to Gods (*naivEdyam*). Besides, *dEva – pitRu – tarpaNam* with water is a common feature in traditional families. *bauddhAyana smRuti* extensively deals with this ritual. *udaka SAnti*, *varuNa SAnti*, *puNyAhavachanam*, and *aGamarShaNam* are some of the *vEdic* 'holy water' prayers.

If water from traditional tanks is stolen selfishly (some farmers do this in the night times to irrigate their lands), or the water flow is obstructed the offenders must be penalized. But, what if governments themselves allow such offences? For more discussion on water see the last section, Current Scenario and Conclusions.

Water is only one aspect; many others are equally important as public works (discussed below). If royal treasury, storehouses of food and weaponry, and temple-treasures etc. were broken up, the offenders must be punished with death without any hesitation. If normal persons dirty the roads and highways, they not only must be penalized but be made to clean up the places. However, if unhealthy people, pregnant ladies and children do this, they should be excused and the places must be immediately cleaned up (MS-9-280 to 284).

Trees and Plants

mahABAratam – anuSAsana parvam distinguishes between six kinds of plants and trees: वृक्ष गुल्म लता वल्ल्याः त्वक्सारः तृणजातयः –

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vRukSha gulma latA vallyAH twaksArAH tRuNajAtayaH". *vRukSha-s* are regular trees; *gulma-s* are shrubs; *latA-s* mean creepers; *vallI-s* are also creepers of different kind going round and round while growing; *twaksAra-s* are bamboos, and *tRuNa* is grass. Plantation and growing of all these varieties is strongly argued for. They save the planter in the next world just as his sons do. Therefore one should plant them especially on the tank beds, and rear them as his own children (MB-ASP-03).

MS-8 insists that some land all around any village and town must be left free for animal grazing. Felling green trees for fuel sake is a sin (MS-11-65). Unnecessary cutting off of fruit-bearing trees flower-bearing plants, and, creepers etc. is a sin, avoidable only by reciting hundreds of *Ruk-s* (*Rug vEda*) (MS-11-143). Unnecessary cutting off of medicinal plants found in the orchards and farms is a sin, avoidable by fasting for a day drinking only milk and following a cow whole day (MS-11-145).

Non-vegetarianism

It is doubtful whether all parts of Vedas argued for *yaj~jnas* involving *himsa* (violence). Sacrificing animals seems to have come about during much later periods. Some exclusively referred to *ahimsa*, while some parts mentioned sacrificing animals. MS-11 elaborates on the sin incurred by killing various animals. In *mahABaratam* - *anuSAsana parvam*, Bhishma argues against non-vegetarian food. Usually consumers of non-vegetarian food relish saying, it is unimaginably and indescribably tasteful; however it is full of sin. It is difficult for the people to give up meat who relish it (MB-ASP-04). But meat cannot be obtained without killing animals; heavens cannot be obtained by killing them. Therefore, better give up meat (MS-5-48). Having thus argued for non-violence, yet *manu smRuti* says that killing animals is permitted for *yaj~ja-s* (rituals of sacrificial fire)!

Bhishma refers to Manu: whoever does not eat meat, or kill, or cause injury to animals is the friend of all elements (MB-ASP-05). The person who assures life to all the beings is highly regarded. The life of any animal should be as dear as one's own. Just as the persons desire as to how others should regard them, they too should regard the others the same way. When even the highly knowledgeable are scared of their death, what to say of those sinless and healthy animals' scare when they are killed only for eating flesh (MB-ASP-06)!

In *mahABAratam-SAnti parvam*, Yudhisthira (in a different context) says: one attains *brahma* only when he can see one and the same spirit behind all the enormous diversity of beings in this world. This knowledge is beyond the grasp of uneducated, low-minded, unintelligent, and irreligious people. All our understanding rests on our attitudes (MB-SNP-02).

Science and Life Cycle

vEdic mathematics is a well known subject. Aryabhata, Varaha Mihira, Parasara etc. were great astronomers. Time required for precession of the equinoxes and movement of the Sun were near precisely calculated by the ancient Hindu scientists. "*AryA dwAdaSakam*" (a prayer) mentions the distance covered by the Sun in half a minute (AD-01).

Agricultural diversity and importance of irrigation have already been noted above. Earlier the prayer called "*mantra pushpani*" describing the importance of interdependence between the sun, moon, air, clouds, fire and water was mentioned. *Aditya hRudayam* in *rAmAyaNam* is supposed to contain many scientific ideas that are consistent with the modern knowledge conforming to the theory of light. The Sun is described as "अपां पतिः, घनवृष्टिः अपाम् मित्रो – *apAm patiH, Gana vRsuShTiH apAm mitro*" (lord of the waters, benefactor of rains and waters) etc. The offerings made into the sacrificial fire

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reaches the Sun, then it rains, crops grow, and all the beings live on that food. The sun is also supposed to cure problems related to heart and eyes. The *Rug vEdic* "*mahA sauram*" is a hymn supposed to cure heart and vision problems (RV-02). A variation of the same prayer is known as "*Arya dwAdaSakam*". There exists a long prayer called "*aruNam*" some parts of which are not supposed to be heard by pregnant ladies; reason is not known. *AyurvEda* (traditional Hindu medical science) is widely followed by Indians. Some *purANa-s* and *SAstra-s* describe the anatomy details of human body, namely the number of bones, nerves, and circulation of air and blood, which lead to the art of *prANaYama* and *kunDalini yOga*.

Some names in the *SrI lalitA sahasram* deal with the theory of sound; about, how do ideas get transformed into the ultimate spoken words, and the sound's passage through the body (*parA*, *paSyantI*, *madhyamA*, *vaiKarI*, etc.). There are several works in Sanskrit dealing with linguistics. Bharadwaja's *vaimAnika Sastra* (aeronautics) (antiquity of which is quite doubted) is quite known.

What is important to note in this context is that commercial perspective was hardly the tradition for spreading the known scientific knowledge; no intellectual property rights, no patents, and no private profits to make.

Education (*vidyA*)

The ultimate purpose of learning anything for a Brahmin used to be for realization of "*brahman*". But that is known as *alaukika para vidyA*, having nothing to do with the mundane affairs of this world. Brahmins were supposed to learn *vEda-s* both for spiritually 'uplifting' themselves as well as to gain the knowledge which helps in guiding people of other castes. Learning other *SAstra-s*, particularly professional studies and training (*vRutti vidyA*), was open to all castes. In fact such professional training under the caste system was

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derived from the respective family elders themselves; no separate schools were necessary for this purpose.

However, *manu smRuti* advises not to teach someone from whom neither *dharma*, nor *artha*, nor service can be expected. Such teaching is like sowing good seeds on barren lands (MS-2-112). This was the reason why Dronaacharya did not teach Ekalavya (in *mahABAratam* story).

Even though the king Raghu was taught both fair and unfair principles, he only chose the fair means to rule the kingdom (*raGuvamSam* - 4). Whichever way one teaches or one learns, first imparting some *dhArmic* principles was essential. *taittirIya upaniShat* (TU) and several *smRuti-s* extensively deal with these principles for students of any studies.

TU teaches that, both the student and the teacher must pray that the almighty protects both of them (TU-01). The teacher must know one thing; he himself should first practice anything that he teaches (TU-02). Then the following principles were taught. Speak only truth; Stick to *dharma*; Never violate truth, *dharma*, welfare, natural elements, self practice, and duties towards ancestors; Treat mother, father, teacher and guests as Gods. Indulge only in commendable jobs, not in others (TU-03). Further it also emphasizes that, any offering made to anybody must be with concern, compassion, commensurate to the wealth possessed, with humility, apprehension and knowledge of what one is doing (TU-04). Only after learning these basic manners anything else used to follow.

Vasishta supervising the preparations of *aSvamEdha yAgam* warns his assistants: while serving food don't dishonour the lower class people coming as guests from far off places. Food has to be served with respect but not playfully. Never offer anything playfully without care; otherwise the donor would surely suffer (*rAmAyaNam*, *bAla kAnDa*-04).

The king must facilitate education for both males and females (BM-2-312). In order to acquire working knowledge, boys and girls and even servants should receive education. The king should institutionalize such an arrangement (BM-3-112). BM-3 also elaborates on kings' duties in the provision of teaching fine arts.

A diligent person may learn even from low-class knowledgeable, may know *dharma* even from the lowest class, and may pick up a good bride even from a family of lower caste. Women, gems, education, *dharma*, tidiness, good speech, and artistry should be welcome from anybody (MS-2-238 & 240).

Apastamba advises that knowledge of anything that has not been covered in his *sUtra-s* may be obtained by consulting womenfolk of all castes and/or sticking to the traditions (AS-2-02). It denotes the importance given to the women who are the real carriers of ethical traditions from generation to generation.

A teacher's order must be executed, though it looks like going against *dharma*. Pandavas did so, so did Arjuna, Vyasa and Parasurama (BPS-2-49). However even teachers may sometimes violate reason and justice. So obey the orders as long as reasonability exists; otherwise reject (BPS-2-73 & 74). Nowadays teachers themselves do not follow a decent code of conduct; see Nuland and Khandelwal (2006). "बौद्धारो मत्सरग्रस्ताः – *bOddhArO matsara grastAH*" (teachers become jealous) – *BartRuhari suBAShitam*. Once an American professor boasted that in US if they don't publish they would perish. My reply was that in India sometimes if they publish they may perish. Though much is not spoken out, hidden academic jealousies generally play a significant dirty role in India.

Employment and Labour

Provision of labor services was the essential duty of Sudras. Their unemployment did not seem to be a main worry for any of the ancient kings, though poverty was. The issue of poverty is discussed in a different section below. The system did not recognize unemployment as a serious problem because the families were caste oriented and the castes were duties oriented. So the families themselves were bringing up their sons and daughters not only as their legal heirs but also as the respective professional heirs (including in artistry and fine arts). Proud association with a particular kind of job performed for the society which no other population group was permitted to do led to conspicuous and peculiar social status.

Several *smRuti-s* extensively deal with labor, laborers, structure of their pay, etc. If a worker falls sick or having recovered finishes the work taking more time than promised, he would still get his salary for all that time (MS-8-216). NS-6 says, in case wage rates have not been fixed in the beginning, then the servants of a farmer (trader) could claim 1/10th of the profits made on the agricultural produce (traded merchandise). If an agent does not perform the job after having taken wages, he must pay back twice the amount he had taken. Such issues are nowadays known as principal-agent problems in economics.

If a person having taken an oath to perform certain jobs for the sake of a province or the country, and yet with vested interests breaks that oath, he should be sent into exile (MS-8-219). How many ministers nowadays in our country can stand up to this principle!

manu smRuti distinguishes between seven kinds of slaves (*dAsa-s*): captives of war; those serving for their maintenance; children of slaves (born in the house of the master); purchased, presented or inherited slaves; and those enslaved by way of punishment (MS-8-415). Saran (1957) discusses the Kautilyan reforms with regard to

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slavery in India. These include banning the sale or purchase of children as slaves. Slaves also had a right to property. Chastity of women workers was guaranteed with protection. Kautilya had imposed a number of restrictions on the dealings with women workers. For example, if any person was found guilty of looking at the face of a female worker or of talking to her, he was punished. On the whole, it would be observed that, the conditions of work and wages of women workers in ancient India were neither unsatisfactory nor unjust and enough protection was guaranteed to them. In India slaves were treated far better than they were in Europe. According to Saran (1957), Kautilya and Sukra were the only persons who paid due attention to the conditions of work.

Saran (1957) argues that despite several rules and regulations stipulated for protecting rights and promoting peaceful relations, yet harmony between workers and employers called for force. Shirking the work by workers, and evasion of wage payments by employers were not uncommon. Apparently the method of collective bargaining was adopted. However, according to Saran, the relations between land owners (employers) and the tillers of the soil (agricultural workers) appear to have been harmonious enough in ancient India. See also Kazanas (undated).

If Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are unable to find employment, the Brahman should employ them and bear their living (MS-8-411). This corresponds to the current employment guarantee programs. However this recognition of unemployment problem does not seem to be a common feature of all the ancient kingdoms.

Saran (1957): "The concepts of "Welfare State" and social security measures, which appear to be of very recent origin, were well known to the people of India as far back as the 3rd century B.C. It would not be a mistake to assert that provision for pensions, disablement benefits, sickness and maternity benefits, provident funds, maintenance allowances etc. were made in those good old days. It would, however, be relevant to point out that these measures were

largely applicable to the workers in the employment of the State and not necessarily to all, though instances are not wanting where the employers provided maintenance to the families of old workers and to the workers themselves." We are aware that even now the labor in the organized public sector in India is a lot pampered compared to the labor in the unorganized sector.

Gender

According to Manu, every woman should be protected by her father during her girlhood, by her husband during youth, and by her sons during old age; no woman is fit enough to fend for herself. She should be given the charge of household expenditure and savings, cleanliness, kitchen work, looking after her husband, and protection of *dharma*. Women are the prosperous, and honorable home-lights begetting children. In all households, there is no difference between a woman and Goddess Lakshmi (MS-9-03, 11 & 26). Almost the same appears in *bauddhAyana smRuti*. *vishNu purANam* advises that let women never be disrespected - "योषितो नावमन्येत - *yOShitO nAvamanyEta*".

If a 'right' bridegroom is available, the girl should be married off without any other considerations including age. However, let the girl wait and remain in the house itself even up to her death, instead of offering her to an ill-mannered bridegroom. In case the father does not perform the daughter's marriage even if a 'right' bridegroom is available, the girl may wait for three years after her maturity (roughly that amounts to 15 years of her age) and marry according to her own will (MS-9-88, 89 & 90). At this juncture let us note a judgment passed by the Karnataka High Court (KHC) on 12 May 2011 regarding a boy who secretly married a girl of 18 years old without the consent of the girl's parents. When the episode resulted in a court case, the KHC observed that, a girl below the age of 21 years cannot judge the character of a person she marries, and hence

she must have the consent of her parents for the marriage. "Parents should choose the boy for a girl aged below 21, as it is they who bear the brunt of an unsuccessful marriage." Further the KHC stated, "The Hindu marriage Act is not a contract. It needs permission from parents." Declaring the marriage as void, the KHC ordered that the boy must first be arrested and fined for kidnapping the girl (see Deccan Herald, Friday, May 13, 2011).

Females also have certain rights of inheritance which shall be noted later. However, according to *nArada smRuti* generally any transactions (debt etc.) indulged in by women and slaves are not valid.

That sums up how much the woman and her freewill were (are) respected, besides the authority given to her in looking after the household maintenance including finance. However it must be admitted that several Sanskrit texts view the females with strong negative feelings. It is considered that womenfolks generally speak sweetly though their hearts are filled with poisonous bitterness – "मधु तिष्ठति वाचि योषिताम्, हृदयं हालाहलमेव केवलं – *madhu tiShThati vAchi yOShitAm, hRudayam hAlAhalamEva kEvalam*". For a horrific description of females, see *mahABAratam*, *anuSasana parvam*. The discourse here presents women as small minded and roots of all evils (MB-ASP-07). Yet many times even the common men were blessed that they would have lots of wives!

'*sati*' was first abolished by Akbar and later in 1829 when William Bentinck was the Governor-General. Raja Rammohan Roy played a significant role in the movement against *sati*. Some scholars interpreted the practice as nothing but a murder plot aiming to grab property. In ancient times, sages such as Parasara supported it, while Angirasa, Gautama etc. opposed it. *gautama smRuti* thoroughly opposing it says, a woman who commits *sati* would first incur the sin of suicide and hence can neither help herself nor her husband to the heavens. By the way it seems, *sati* was practiced mostly in north India and Bengal, and female infanticide and

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foeticide in south India. The country is still not completely free of these heinous practices.

All said, females have been mostly discriminated in employment, wage rates, and social circles. Wherever it looks like they are not discriminated against and given equal opportunities, though the average welfare of the females appears to have increased, insecurity, risks and uncertainties have also substantially increased for them. Thus, in India, a lot of female intellectual power gets unutilized and wasted away even presently. It is a pity that even the commercial advertisements in the media often tend to project their image in an inappreciable manner; i.e as though most of the female problems are centered around finding a detergent or a soap for washing clothes, cleaning vessels, etc.!

Family & Inheritance

Property should not be divided between a husband and his wife (AS-2-03). If a woman aborts her pregnancy wantonly, her sin cannot be washed off; and she should be boycotted (PS-4-20). Son is his father's soul. The son and the daughter are equal. Thus the daughter too is her father's soul. Besides, all her mother brought as dowry to the family, daughters alone inherit (MS-9-130 & 131). All the brothers should give away one fourth of their respective shares of the property to their unmarried sisters. They get ruined if they don't (MS-9-118). Further, NS-13 says the eldest son is entitled to a bigger share than all the other sons and unmarried sisters. For a good deal of discussion on property, inheritance, *strI dhana* and comparative analysis between Hindu and British Laws see Strange (1825).

Discipline of inheritance was presented in various ways in the old Hindu literature. While inheritance was one of the main issues in *rAmAyaNam*, it was the central issue in *mahABAratam*. In *rAmAyaNam*, when Bharata was clearing off the misgivings and

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misunderstandings (that he came in the way of Rama the eldest son inheriting the kingdom) he mentioned to Kausalya a long list of *adhArmic* deeds and swore that he would incur all those sins, were he really responsible for Rama's exile. In our later discussions, we however notice some rulers who committed fratricide without any kind of regret and remorse to grab the kingdoms.

In *mahABAratam*, none of the Paandavas was born to the king Paandu. Pandu's wife Kunti got Yudhishtira from Yama, Bhima from Vayu, and Arjuna from Indra, while another wife Maadri got Nakula and Sahadeva from Aswinees. Then according to the 20th/21st century laws it is doubtful whether the Paandavas could be legal heirs for the Paandu's kingdom.

The earnings made by the means of one's own education, he only owns (MS-9-206). However, NS-13 says, "when one brother maintains the family of another brother while the latter is engaged in studying, the former shall receive a share of the wealth gained by that study, though he be ignorant (himself)" – (see Jolly-1889).

Beware of the cousins in the family. They are usually pleased at the troubles of the other cousins. With malice in their hearts they turn out cruels. Of all the dangers, that from the cousins is the worst (BPS-5-10, 11, & 12).

An interesting episode is presented in *aBij~jAna SAKuntalam*, 6th *ankam*. The minister was busy whole day in finalizing the financial accounts and hence could not personally see the king Dushyanta. He sent a messenger with a letter to Dushyanta. Having gone through the letter the king says, "the sea-sailing trader Dhanamitra passed away as his ship sank. Unfortunate! The minister says, all his left over wealth must immediately be taken over and credited to royal treasury. Why? Dhanamitra was very rich and had many wives, though no children yet. First find out whether anyone of them is pregnant." The messenger informs that one of them is indeed pregnant. The king orders that the child after the birth would become the owner of all the wealth of Dhanamitra. Besides, the king

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says, "It does not matter whether any household has children or not. Declare immediately that I (Dushyanta) am a family member of all the households, excepting the sinful ones." This is consistent with what was said in NS-13: only if all the sons, daughters, successors, relatives etc. of a deceased person fail in inheriting his wealth and property, it goes to the king.

Having noted all this paraphernalia of justice, economy, trade, public works and finance, private property and inheritance, now let us look at the poverty situation and happiness in general.

Poverty and Inequality

"Since he came down from the trees, man has faced the problem of survival, not as an individual but as a member of a social group. His continued existence is testimony to the fact that he has succeeded in solving the problem; but the continued existence of want and misery, even in the richest of nations, is evidence that his solution has been, at best, a partial one." - Heilbroner (1999).

The "continued existence of want and misery" points out to the problem of poverty and hunger. No one in the society should die of hunger. Poverty has been recognized as a social malady since ages. A person struck in poverty and a country without a king, both are dead (MB-ARP-YP-02). Poverty is understood as one of the eight troubles that humans may face. Debts, begging, old age, infidelity, stealing, poverty, ill health, and pending dues are well known as eight troubles (NTS-03). The misfortune and the consequences of being poor have been described in the Indian literature at various places.

Plight of the poor: mother scolds, father does not appreciate, brother doesn't converse, servants get angry, friends avoid, and wife doesn't embrace. Friends avoid the loan-begging poor (NTS-04). However, if a woman insults her husband for being poor, or diseased, or

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unintelligent, she will be reborn as a dirty animal (PS-4-16). Everything is lacking under poverty; सर्व शून्या दरिद्रता – *sarva SUnyA daridratA!* - *ChANakya nIti*.

When a man loses money, he also loses friends, wife, and servants; and even gentlemen desert him. But they all come back when his money is regained. Indeed, money is the only true relative (CN-03). Wealth is the root for everything that happens in the world. A rich man affords to have friends, *dharma*, education, and prowess and is deemed clever. Person without money is equivalent to the dead. Poor fellows cannot hope to accumulate wealth, just as smaller animals cannot drag an elephant (BPS-6).

How about praying for divine help? When rituals are performed, adequate *dakShiNa* (payment to priests) should be offered. Otherwise rituals can be suicidal. Therefore poor should not aim to perform *yaj~ja-s* (MS-11-40). Can he participate in get-togethers? Get-togethers are hated by poor man (CN-04). Go wherever, eat whatever, sleep wherever, but don't live among relatives when struck by poverty (CN-05). Unemployment, poverty and hunger are related. *mahABAratam* says, generally rich do not have ability to digest food, but poor can digest even wood (MB-UP-VN_01). Obviously taste and cooking do not matter for the hungry (NTS-05).

How does one become poor? Why he stays poor all along? Hindus viewed it rather pessimistically. Unhappiness due to poverty, ill health, bondages and bad habits are the fruits of the tree of self made sins (CN-07). Uncharitable conduct makes one poor, poverty leads to committing sin, which leads to hell. Poverty, sin, and hell form a cycle (NTS-06). Why all this? It is the fate. Fate makes rich poor and poor rich (CN-06).

The system seems to have felt that the problem of poverty and hunger cannot be solved by the king, or the state alone. Every individual in the society should contribute to the best of his/her ability to mitigate the hunger problem. Hence charity is vigorously

argued for. Charity is nothing but a kind of redistribution. A complex network of safety-nets based on charities was thus built up. A helpful donation made to a poor householder, in particular to a religious one, effects good results (PS-12-51). Chanakya says that, charity destroys poverty; there is no *dharma* greater than charity (CN-08).

A comprehensive description of poverty problem appears in *Tirukkural* (Tamil) by Valluvar of *sangam* literature, written sometime between 3rd Century BC and 3rd Century A.D. *Tirukkural* covers almost all the social maladies, including poverty.

Tirukkural (verses 221-233) says: only giving to poor amounts to charity; all the rest is only loan and vanity. The sight of a poor man begging for alms is rather painful especially when he is refused. The power that cures hunger is greater than that of penance. The sin of eating alone is worse than begging. *Tirukkural* also links farming with poverty (1031 to 1070 verses): It is the farmers who toil while the others simply ply at will. Tillers of the land are indeed linchpins of the mankind; they live to plough for the others to eat and live. If the farmers don't till, even the renounced monks develop wants for the food. *Tirukkural* also mentions crop protection, irrigation, manures, and weeding. The good earth laughs at those idlers who do not cultivate, yet plead poverty! No pain pinches more than poverty. The poor would lose all the grace in the world. A poor man though goodhearted would start uttering bad words, and gets ignored by the society including the mother. Poverty is a problem of day to day existence causing sleeplessness all the while. Fault lies with those who don't give to the poor though they can. The demand for help anyway continues, because there are still some who are not misers and do help. What a joy it is when indeed the help pours in! In fact such helpers (donors) gain glory only because the needy beg them; otherwise where is their glory? *Tirukkural* however condemns begging when one is able to work and earn livelihood. Alas, why doesn't the God rot for having created a fateful world of beggars and helpers! Can the poverty end simply by begging? Ability to work is important. Even for a weak person, food earned by sweating labor

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tastes sweeter. In this vivid description of poverty notice that *Tirukkural* says, the glory of the rich is because of the existence of the poor.

One important aspect to note is that poverty was not viewed as a mere economic problem. It has a social dimension associated. Poverty, lack of land and unemployment are related. The State (or king alone) cannot bear the burden of eradication of poverty. Every individual who has something to donate as charity (*dAnam*) should offer. Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), Kent, UK collects data and attempts to analyze 'giving trends' of the population in 153 countries in the world. It quantifies the attitudes of people towards giving money to charities, volunteering organizational work and helping strangers. Table 1 below is based on their analysis, which shows that not many Indians donate much towards charity works. However, these data may be questionable. Many Indian households under joint family system support the lives, education and marriages of their own brothers and cousins. Families of many domestic servants derive substantial charitable contributions from their masters. Besides, almost all the temple 'hundies' in India derive substantial monies from the devotees which are spent on free feeding, particularly visitors and the poor. It is doubtful whether all such '*gupta dAnam-s*' have been considered in the CAF analysis!

According to *Tirukkural*, donors in fact feel happy that their help brings them name and fame. The rich may not remain rich forever, and similarly the poor may not remain poor. Though it is all determined by fate, one should put in the best effort to work without shirking. *Tirukkural* (verses 11 to 120) also discusses 'equity' defining it as 'a supreme virtue giving each person his/her due.' Worthy and unworthy would only be known in posterity. Hence avoid any unjust gains.

The above discussion points out the importance of two aspects: one is sincere effort and the other, "redistribution" through charity. Effort (agriculture) removes deficiency (famine): कृषितो नास्ति दुर्भिक्षं -

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kRuShitO nAsti durBikShaM - nIti SAstram. Offerings are the *dharma* in *kali yuga* (MS-1-86). *dharma* varies across *yuga-s*. In *kRuta yuga* penance is *dharma*, knowledge in *trEtA yuga*, sacrificial rituals in *dvApara yuga*, and offerings to the needy in *kali yuga* (PS-1-22 & 23). The same view is expressed in PS-11-50 also. Notice the moral importance given in *Rug vEda* for sharing one's food: Simply obtaining food is foolish with no purpose served; truly, that is as bad as death. One becomes an absolute sinner, if he consumes all the food by himself without feeding first the elders and friends (RV-03). Similar sentiments are expressed in *Bagavad gIta* also. Vidura wonders in *mahABAratam*: is there a worse person than a wealthy man who enjoys good meals and good attire, but does not share his wealth with his servants? If one is wealthy enough, he must maintain four kinds of people in his house - aged cousins, financially ruined cousins, poor friends and childless sisters. This is *gRuhastha dharma* (MB-UP-VN_02).

However the charity perspective led to some startling attitudes towards the issue. *Tirukkural* says, "A world without beggars would be boring looking like a society of dancing wooden puppets." Subrahmainan (1976) says, it is institutionalized with a purpose of siphoning of the wealth from the extremely rich passing on to the poor. Thus both rich (donors) and poor (donees) must exist. The donors feel they can wash off their sins by charity. Discussing Tamil Sangam society Subrahmanian (1980) says, "Wealth did not mean then what it means now." Apart from some basic expenditure, opportunities for novel expenditure were rare. Most of the rich therefore spent their wealth on charity. Helping the fate of the poor would amount to meddling with the natural and divine arrangement of social order. Some felt that division of people into rich and poor is not only natural, but also a desirable condition. "The situation satisfied the rich as well as the poor; the former derived spiritual comfort and the latter obtained the material benefits. The system seemed to avoid undue disturbances in society."

Table 1: World Giving Index figures for years 2010 / 2011

Country	Rank	% of Population Giving Money to Charities	% of Population Volunteering for Organizational work	% of Population Helping Strangers	World Giving Index (%)
India	134 / 91	14 / 28	12 / 18	30 / 39	19 / 28
Australia	1 / 3	70 / 71	38 / 36	64 / 68	57 / 58
New Zealand	1 / 4	68 / 63	41 / 39	63 / 69	57 / 57
Ireland	3 / 2	72 / 75	35 / 38	60 / 65	56 / 59
Canada	3 / 7	64 / 62	35 / 34	68 / 65	56 / 54
Switzerland	5 / 21	71 / 54	34 / 28	60 / 49	55 / 44
USA	5 / 1	60 / 65	39 / 43	65 / 73	55 / 60
Netherlands	7 / 6	77 / 75	39 / 37	46 / 51	54 / 54
United Kingdom	8 / 5	73 / 79	29 / 28	58 / 63	53 / 57
Sri Lanka	8 / 8	58 / 53	52 / 46	50 / 55	53 / 51
Austria	10 / 29	69 / 50	30 / 27	58 / 51	52 / 43

Lao People's Democratic Republic*	11 / 10	64 / 64	32 / 32	53 / 53	50 / 50
Sierra Leone	11 / 42	29 / 16	45 / 26	75 / 72	50 / 38
Malta	13 / 19	83 / 65	21 / 25	40 / 44	48 / 45
Iceland*	14 / 14	67 / 67	26 / 26	47 / 47	47 / 47
Turkmenistan*	14 / 14	17 / 17	61 / 61	62 / 62	47 / 47
Guyana*	16 / 18	36 / 36	33 / 33	67 / 67	45 / 45
Qatar	16 / 19	64 / 53	18 / 12	53 / 69	45 / 45
Hong Kong	18 / 11	70 / 73	13 / 16	50 / 59	44 / 49
Germany	18 / 26	49 / 49	28 / 26	56 / 55	44 / 43
Denmark	18 / 17	67 / 64	20 / 24	45 / 49	44 / 46

Note: Data are shown here only for a few countries. For full data of 153 countries refer to World Giving Index Reports of 2010 and 2011 of Charities Aid Foundation, Kent, UK, @ <https://www.cafonline.org>. (*) The data have not been updated from 2010.

"They did not feel, the poverty was the consequence of social mismanagement, maldistribution of wealth etc. but believed that it was the product of the past actions – sins, ..."

"To make the Society Happy It is requisite that great numbers should be Ignorant as well as Poor." - Bernard Mandeville [quoted in Heilbroner (1999)].

Low class people are afraid of being unemployed, middle class are afraid of death, and high class people are extremely afraid of insults (MB-UP-VN_03). In contemporary India, the government and the public sector in principle take care of all its employees with hefty salaries and allowances. So does the organized private sector too. But it is the households coming under the unorganized sectors who suffer a lot both in the rural and urban areas. Stable employment opportunity itself is a big problem for them.

Subrahmanian (1976) argues that since it seems we have been converted to the view that aspiration to more is an index of the civilization of progress, we have to leave behind the older value of contentment as outmoded and useless. "For a country whose main pre-occupation is to rid itself of poverty, illiteracy and disease, the obvious aim should be to produce more wealth so that one could distribute more" - Subrahmanian (1976). While saying this, he ignored the fact that more wealth need not necessarily lead to better distribution! Some economists view the poverty problem from a different perspective, i.e. the dichotomy between 'production' and 'distribution'. First let the cake be produced in an efficient manner; later it may be cut into pieces and distributed according to the needs. This view assumes the capability to redistribute. But such capability may not always exist. Another view is that let us get our act together in such a way that whoever wants the cake they themselves should also be able to produce it. In other words, the production relations should be such that adequate incomes are generated for all during the process of production itself without a

laer necessity of redistribution. This view leads to the concept of "inclusive growth" policies.

One point regarding changes in the attitudes of people over time may be noted here, particularly of the middle class. In an interesting article on thrift, Groucho Marx (1975) writes, "In the old days, when people were poor they lived poor. Today they live rich. I've discussed this with many wage earners in the eight-to-ten-thousand dollar-a-year class and, in most cases, they admit that almost everything they own, they don't – their automobiles, their television sets, their houses, and the furniture. Their philosophy seems to be, 'What the hell – we may be dead tomorrow!' However, if their prediction is a few decades off, many of them will spend their old age living off the state." This could be quite true even in India. In a way that puts forth the importance of pleasure and happiness one seeks in his/her daily life.

Happiness

Bertrand Russell (1968) articulated the causes of happiness and unhappiness of humans. Animals are happy when they are healthy and have enough to eat. But for human beings health and food are not sufficient criteria to be happy. Why? He analyzes competition, boredom and excitement, fatigue, envy, sense of sin, persecution mania, and fear of public opinion as the causes of unhappiness (but not poverty directly); and zest, affection, family, work, impersonal interests, effort and resignation as the causes of happiness.

Russell's arguments in the case of envy are particularly notable: "We do not envy a good fortune which we conceive as quite hopelessly out of our reach. In an age when the social hierarchy is fixed, the lowest classes do not envy the upper classes so long as the division between rich and poor is thought to be ordained by God. Beggars do not envy millionaires, though of course they will envy other beggars who are more successful. The instability of social status in the

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modern world and equalitarian doctrines of democracy and socialism have greatly extended the range of envy. For the moment this is an evil, but it is an evil which must be endured in order to arrive at a more just social system. As soon as inequalities are thought about rationally they are seen to be unjust unless they rest upon some superiority of merit. And as soon as they are seen to be unjust, there is no remedy for the resulting envy except the removal of the injustice. Our age is therefore one in which envy plays a peculiarly large part. The poor envy the rich, the poorer nations envy the richer nations, women envy men, virtuous women envy those who, though not virtuous, remain unpunished. While it is true that envy is the chief motive force leading to justice as between different classes, different nations, and different sexes, it is at the same time true that the kind of justice to be expected as a result of envy is likely to be the worst possible kind; namely, that which consists rather in diminishing the pleasures of the fortunate than in increasing those of the unfortunate. Passions which work havoc in private life work havoc in public life also." - Russell (1968).

Let us now look at how the Hindu classical texts viewed the issue of happiness.

The classification of the causes of happiness and unhappiness in the old Hindu literature is substantially different from that of Russell (1968) reported above. Hindu literature distinguishes them into three categories: (a) *AdhyAtmika*¹⁵ (unhappiness caused by ill health, injuries, and other such purely personal factors), (b) *Adhi-Bautika* (unhappiness caused by externals such as accidents, snake bites, fight with others, etc.), and (c) *Adhi-daivika* (unhappiness caused by nature such as floods, droughts, earth quakes, tsunami etc.).¹⁶ According to *sAnKya sUtra-s* of Kapila, true liberation (*mOkSha*) occurs through riddance of these three kinds of troubles: "त्रिविध दुःख अत्यन्त निवृत्तिः अत्यन्त पुरुषार्थः - *trividha duHka atyanta nivRuttiH atyanta puruShArthaH*" - see Ballantyne (1885) and Sastry (1940). Russell's discussion above mostly corresponds to (b) in this list.

garuDa purANam says, others are not responsible for one's happiness and unhappiness. It is the result of one's own past deeds (GP-01). In *mahABAratam - SAnTi parvam*, sage Vyasa elaborates on happiness and unhappiness when Yudhishtira expressed grief after the war and wanted to renounce. People when they cry over the loss of wealth and close relatives, they actually increase their grief. Grief and fear only increase by indulgence. The knowledgeable hardly suffer from grief, knowing that things on this earth belong to all the beings, and even their own bodies do not belong to them. Daily, while hundred reasons exist for happiness, thousand other reasons exist for sorrow affecting the ignorant. Grief and happiness, one after the other, continuously take on people. In reality there is only grief, but no happiness in this world. In fact desire brings sorrow, which in turn may lead to happiness followed by grief again, followed by happiness, and the cycle continues. Not every day would be a happy one, and not every day would there be grief. Knowing this cycle one should avoid both of them by completely understanding the root causes. Happiness or unhappiness, affection or aversion, one must bear it without being depressed and disheartened (MB-SNP-03). *vishNu purANam* has a discourse on happiness when Prahalda teaches to fellow students. *Bagavad gIta* too says that desire is the root for all unhappiness.

nIti SAstram presents a comprehensive view as far as wealth is concerned. Unhappiness prevails due to the effort put in while earnings are made, then due to the care in protecting those earnings, then due to the spending it away, and then due to loss of it. While every thing related to money is only of unhappiness, why bother about it (NTS-07)!

Palatial house, well-mannered children, countless wealth, auspicious wife, and filled with youth – what else one needs! Whoever thinks so is a fool. The wise, knowing well that all these only provide temporary happiness, do not get caught up in the prisons of household-level life; they renounce all of them (BHS-01). Every

aspect of our lives in this world involves scare. Only renouncing puts one beyond scare (BHS-02).

Some international organizations conduct surveys and collect data on various aspects of lifestyles of people across the globe, and develop measures of happiness to make international comparisons. See for example, <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/> and http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/lif_hap_net-lifestyle-happiness-net (accessed on 27 February 2012). However one may wonder whether such comparisons are valid.

Thus we come to the end of the first part of the paper. In the second part below, keeping the above mentioned philosophical principles in mind we look at how far India could live up to them in later times. This brings us to some historical details specifically drawing attention on how some political regimes ran counter to the centuries old Indian value system. Readers not interested in this digression may skip the following section on history.

History

So far above we have seen the social situations prevalent till about 12th Century A.D. in comparison to the present. By then, the country witnessed Darius' attacking Indus Valley in about 500 B.C., Ajatasatru, Alexander-Porus battle, Nandas, Mauryas¹⁷, Bindusara, Asoka, Andhras, Cholas, Cheras, Pandyas, Pallavas, Chalukyas, Guptas, Vikramaditya, Harshavardhana, Rashtrakutas, Rajputs, Kakatiyas, Hoyasalas, Devagiri Yadavas and many others. Witnessed were also Vardhamana Mahavira, Gautama Buddha and other Jain & Buddhist philosophers, six famous '*darSana-s*', apart from Sankaraacharya, and other Hindu philosophers. Great sages and literary giants too became part of the history. However, though *SRuti-s*, *smRuti-s* and Sanskrit language could bring ethical and cultural unity among the Indians, yet they could not ensure political unity across all the regions. Weak defence and internal bickerings

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provided easy access for external forces to intrude and rule the country. A brief chronology of Indian history was presented below in 'Appendix: History'.

It seems everything was going on more or less peaceful – either because things were really that way, or if there were any serious upheavals, they were not adequately reported in any of the works of history and literature, for us to notice. Then a rude shock occurred. That was, the way Islam was introduced to India. After Muhammad the prophet died in 632 A.D. Kasim from Arabia came over up to Karachi in 712 A.D. and went back. Later between 1001 and 1024 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni came over several times deeper and deeper into the country, looted and destroyed Hindu temples. Each time he carried away with him immense wealth. In 1024 A.D. he ruined the Siva temple in Somnathpur in Gujarat. "Large numbers of men were killed, the temple destroyed, the *lingam* smashed, and pieces of it were carried to Ghazni, and cast down at the threshold of the great mosque to be trodden underfoot by the believers" – H.C.(1938). When Mahmud was dying he cried on his deathbed that he was unable to take all his wealth along with him! (Remember NTS-01 and MS-8-17!)

In 1192 A.D. Muhammad Ghori attacked the Rajput Prithviraj for a second time. Prithviraj having been given an option to either embrace Islam or to fight swore by Ganga water to defend Hindus and fight. But he lost, and was blinded with red hot iron bars. Kutub Uddin Aibak a slave turned General was assisting Muhammad Ghori during the latter's conquests in India from West to East up to Bengal during 1192 to 1206 A.D. They mercilessly destroyed several temples including in Benares, and Universities of Nalanda, Vikramsila and Udhantapuri.

So far it was a 'loot, ruin and go away' affair; but the later episodes formed a watershed in the history of India leading to alien dynasties, alien rulers and alien rules of the land for nearly 750 years subsequently. We only briefly discuss two or three dynasties to give

a flavor of the changes the natives had to physically and psychologically face and live with, starting from 13th century A.D. up to the end of British rule in India in 1947 A.D.¹⁸.

The initial phase of the events was a sequence of five dynasties of short-periods under Delhi Sultanates: Baanisa/Slave (1206 to 1290 A.D.), Khilji (1290 to 1320 A.D.), Tuglak (1320 to 1414 A.D.), Sayed (1414 to 1451 A.D.) and Lodi (1451 to 1456 A.D.).

Baanisa (Slave) Dynasty (1206 to 1290 A.D.):

The rulers were Kutub Uddin Aibak, Aram Shah, Il Tut Mich, Rukn Uddin Feroz Shah, Sultana Razia, Ihram, Masud, Nasiruddin Mohammed, Ghiasi Uddin Balban, Kai Kubad, and Kayumars in that order.

In 1206 when Ghori died, Aibak started independent rule in Delhi. Aibak built several monuments, but he was intolerant to non-Muslim religions. He destroyed the Maha Kali temple in Ujjain¹⁹, and laid the foundation for Kutub Minar as a symbol of the establishment of Muslim rule in India. Note that temple destructions and idol breaking are prohibited by the Hindu *SAstra-s*.

Il Tut Mich was the son-in-law of Aibak; Rukn Uddin Feroz Shah and Sultana Razia were the son and daughter of Il Tut Mich. Sultana the first female ruler in India was better hearted than her father. When Rukn Uddin Feroz Shah, an extravagant, became the ruler, his mother Shah Turkan, the wife of Il Tut Mich, practically took over the regime and ruled in irresponsible way. Then her daughter Sultana Razia captured her mother, killed her brother Rukn Uddin and took over the regime.

Balban's history is notable. He was prime minister for 20 years and then became the ruler in 1266 as a hard core disciplinarian with heavy punishments even for small mistakes. He believed he was a descendant of God, introduced new protocol for royalty, and mostly kept aloof from the public.²⁰ However he provided great stability to

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the empire for nearly forty years, and took a great help from Sher Khan in subduing Mongols. But later he suspected Sher Khan and killed him – for which he had to pay a huge price, because Mongols later killed his own son Mohammed. Balban got depressed over this and died in 1287.

Khilji Dynasty (1290 to 1320 A.D.):

The rulers were Jalal Uddin, Allauddin, Shihub Uddin, Kutub Uddin Mubarak, and Nasser Uddin in that order.

Jalal Uddin Khilji was an army minister in Balban's and later Kai Kubad's regimes. Out of suspicion he killed Kai Kubad and his son Kayumars in 1290 and enthroned himself at the age of 70. However he was normally a kind hearted ruler. When he defeated Malik Chajju, not only he left him free but also provided him with food & shelter. He was known for similar attitude towards other enemies also. Yet he too was intolerant for non-Muslim religions and destroyed some temples.

Allauddin Khilji was in the service of Jalal Uddin Khilji. With extreme love Jalal made him his son-in-law. However, the family members did not like him. Thus, Allauddin planned to eliminate Jalal and his family totally and enthrone himself as the ruler. As a part of this scheme Allauddin first conquered Malava and Devagiri kingdoms and virtually looted them. When Jalal went to Allauddin, the son-in-law, to congratulate him over the victories and the loots obtained, he was killed by the latter. Immediately after enthroning himself he imprisoned his mother-in-law, also killed his brothers-in-law, and confiscated the properties of all the followers of Jalal. He had great aspirations of conquering the world to become second Alexander, but was advised by his friends to restrict himself to India. Thus his expeditions with the help of Malik Kafur extended up to Warangal and Madurai in south India destroying temples and looting for wealth everywhere. Allauddin's rule covered from Kashmir to Kanyakumari – though only for a shortwhile. One very notable episode was in Chittore of Mewar ruled by Rana Ratan Singh whose wife Padmini

was a stunning beauty. It was alleged that Allauddin attacked Chittore only to capture Padmini. Singh sought to compromise by agreeing to show Padmini to Allauddin in a mirror. However even after watching her in the mirror, the war took place, Singh was killed, but then all the ladies in the harem including Padmini committed *sati*. Though the veracity of this story is doubted, in a way Allauddin turned out to be stronger than Ravana!

Allauddin was the first Muslim emperor who covered the entire India. The problem of Mangolian attacks on Delhi was permanently solved during his regime. His regime introduced some extra-ordinary administration. The most notable were administering prices of all essential commodities, and building up public stocks of food grains. All traders had to register their names. If any trader was caught false-weighing the material while selling, that much amount of flesh used to be extracted from his body! There was neither black-marketing nor hoarding of goods. There was absolutely no fear of theft while transporting goods for trade purposes. He got land surveys made and then fixed the tax. However, he hated Hindus, and fixed their tax to be 50% of the produce, while it was 25% for the Muslims. While he prohibited liquor consumption in general, additional restrictions for Hindus included ban on eating betel leaves, use of luxury clothes, use of vehicles, jizia, pullary (a kind of tax) and tax on their cattle. He purposely impoverished Hindus and made them work as servants in Muslim families. Even Muslims who could not gather together or conduct marriages in their houses without his permission detested his regime. He died while revolts finally started emerging.

Later Malik Kafur married the widow of Allauddin, grabbed all her property and imprisoned her. Finally when he plotted to kill one of the sons of Allauddin and engaged some agents, the agents bribed by that son killed Kafur himself!

In a matter of 100 years beginning with Kutub Uddin Aibak a vast change occurred in the political sphere of India. Political morals of

thousands of years' vintage taught by *SRuti-s* and *smRuti-s* etc. were flown over.²¹ And that continued for centuries later until the country came under the British control. Meanwhile Vijayanagara empire, Bahmani Sultanates and several other kingdoms were established, which flourished for some time and finally perished. Some of these empires had the purpose of stopping the spread of Islam and protecting the Hinduism. The others had exactly the opposite purpose – destroying Hinduism, ruining Hindu schools of thought and establish Islam. Though Bengal was an easy prey for the Muslims, Rajputs, Marathas and Vijayanagara kings fought against the spread of Islam. But these were also fighting among themselves, occasionally even seeking the Muslim help to settle their own scores.

Meanwhile the Turkish conqueror Taimur or Tamerlene raided then-prosperous India and plundered Delhi in 1398. Portuguese arrived by sea with Vasco da Gama in 1497. In 1510 they had established themselves at Goa seeking by means of sea-fortress settlements, to control the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean. "Their methods, which included a cruelty unusual in the south and a perfidy, based on the doctrine that no faith need be kept with infidels, unusual even in the turbulent north of the day, made them generally detested" - Spear (1978). Neither Hindus nor the Turks were having a strong leader around this time. Hindus were still trying to cope up with the presence of Muslims. "Within Hinduism there was intellectual and social activity but in both spheres the dominant interest was adjustment to the fact of Islam in their midst, with its strange and repugnant ideas, values and practices. Hindu Society was on the defensive and not ready for any large new constructive venture" - Spear (1978). Most of the country except in the South was almost in chaos. Then, in 1517 Babur a descendent of Taimur arrived in the already impoverished north and Panipat war took place in April 1526; Ibrahim Lodi was killed; and Mughal empire was established though without adequate administrative machinery in the beginning. Let us now note the scenario that prevailed during the Mughal empire.

Mughal Empire (1526-1707 A.D.):

Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb were the major rulers. Babur hated Hindus and Hindusthan, yet he settled himself here. His son Humayun was an unhealthy child, and Babur out of love prayed offering his life in exchange for his son, and from then on fell ill, and ultimately died. Humayun took over in 1530. In 1540 he was driven away by Sher Khan Sur. Humayun's brother Kamran took advantage of the situation and closed Kabul and Punjab to his own brother.²² Humayun escaped to Persia. On the way Akbar was born in November 1542. In 1545 Sher Khan Sur died after building up significant administrative machinery which later benefitted Akbar. Humayun now returned, recovered his kingdom, and in 1553 took over Kabul and Punjab from his brother Kamran. His nobles compelled him to blind his brother Kamran for the treachery.

Akbar inherited the kingdom with meek cultivating Hindu masses struggling for subsistence. Having subdued Rajputs, Gujarat, etc. he became sober towards Hindus and abolished taxes that discriminated against them. Yet enmity between Hindus and Muslims persisted. "Akbar knew as well as anyone else that you could neither draw Hindus and Muslims into a new religion nor induce one permanently to submit to the other. He therefore set out to establish a cult of the monarch, to present him as a semi-divine personage whom it was a religious duty to obey and sacrilege to oppose." – Spear (1978). In his later years he attempted to develop an eclectic cult; and people thought he turned an eccentric. After ruling for 49 years, he died in 1605.

The economy, public administration and public finance: Though the royals were enjoying luxuries, the masses in the country were in abject poverty. An expansive bureaucracy was built up with huge cash salaries so that they had no incentive to revolt. However this feature later became unsustainable for Jahangir who allotted large tracts of land itself for the bureaucrats to collect revenue as their salaries. Such allotments were however neither permanent nor

hereditary. Besides, whatever wealth was left at the time of officers' death, it became the royal property. Thus it led to all kinds of unwarranted expenditures by the officers while they were alive so that nothing was left to be taken after their death! The people treated the government merely as a revenue collecting agency having nothing to do with their welfare. "The cultivated land was recorded, the value of the crops assessed, and the share of the government fixed. Whoever the agents might be, the actual collection took the form of a bargaining match with the agents, the one pleading poverty, the other state necessity. Thus the villager saw the government mainly in the guise of a revenue-collecting agent, who fleeced him occasionally, as a judge in a dispute, or as any army which plundered him. It did not matter much who ruled in Delhi – Mughal, Maratha, or Englishman. His concern was with his crops, with the next monsoon, and with the annual visitation of the collecting officer" - Spear (1978).

However there were important industries and a lot of commercial activity during the Mughal period. To indicate the size of the trade Spear (1978) cites W.E. Moreland's calculation that while 30,000 tons merchandise went annually by sea, only 50 tons came over the passes on the backs of 3000 camels. But the effects of the trade had only been marginal to the economy – benefiting only some special areas. The peasants gained little, and artisans got only employed while the profits went to the merchants who employed them.

Public works: How was the national income spent? "The surplus of agricultural production was creamed off by the land tax, the government, central or provincial, taking the major share and the rest going to the local landholder with a small residue to the villages collectively from which the corporate village life and its services maintained. The actual cultivator was left with just enough to subsist on and no reserve against famine. The surplus of industry went largely to the administration through port, provincial and town duties." - Spear (1978). Still a large surplus was usually available. The royals and nobles after meeting the salary

expenditures simply either hoarded for the future generations, or spent away on luxuries or building monuments such as Taj Mahal etc. Expenditure on public works took far less priority. "The Mughals preferred a garden to a canal and their officers a tomb to a well. So the great opportunity of spending the concentrated national surplus on productive work was missed. India was the scene of much economic activity but little economic progress" - Spear (1978).

Spear (1978) however concludes: "There seems to be good ground for thinking that the average peasant had more to eat than his European counterpart and suffered no more oppression from the lords. It is possible that the strength of custom and the intricacies of the caste system gave him greater protection. On the other hand he was more liable to the disaster of flood and famine."

Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were, unlike Akbar, notorious for their hatred towards non-Islmic religions. The former destroyed 80 temples in just Banaras alone, while the latter destroyed 235 temples in Udaipur. Other places where such destructions occurred were Ujjain, Madhura, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Ayodhya, Bijapur, Kathiawad. Aurangzeb banned public celebration of several Hindu festivals (remember, the earlier Allauddin Khilji!). Later Mughal emperors even killed some famous Sikh Gurus.

Absurd kinds and levels of taxes were imposed on Hindus; Muslims were given concessions, with a view to enforce religious conversions attracting particularly the poor and non-Brahmin Hindu households. Unfair and painful taxation was a common feature and used as a tool for religious conversions. Fratricide, imprisoning parents, killing trustful subordinates out of suspicion and scare were often noticed during the Muslim rules. Jahangir faced a revolt by his son Khusrau. His son Shah Jahan, supposed to be a great lover, executed almost all his male relatives after taking over the kingdom. When Shah Jahan invaded Bijapur, the Mughal armies "mercilessly overran it, destroying all traces of cultivation, driving off the cattle, burning down the houses, and slaying the villagers" – H.C. (1938).

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Aurangzeb not only imprisoned his father Shah Jahan, but also executed own brothers, own son and a nephew for the sake of gaining the kingdom for himself.

In 1739, after praying in a mosque Nadir Shah plundered Delhi killing 50000 people. "For about two months the loot went on. Not only the palaces but even the houses of the poorer people were stripped, and any one who was suspected of having concealed his wealth was tortured till he confessed where it was hidden. Nadir Shah and his men returned, enriched beyond the dreams of avarice, laden with the accumulated treasures of eight generations of Emperors – gold and jewels and precious things including the crown-jewels and the famous diamond Kohinoor, and the celebrated Peacock Throne, the jewels set in which were valued at twenty million rupees" – H.C.(1938). After the 1761 Panipat war between Marathas (who lost along with Rajputs) and Afghans, two lakh war prisoners were beheaded. (Remember YS-AA-02, BM-2-188 to 190 in the section on *rAja dharma*, earlier.)

Particularly notabale from the above political episodes are not only the religious intolerance and torturing aliens in their lands but also the treachery, ingratitude, fratricide, imprisoning parents etc. within the royal families themselves. It is not possible to say either, that Hindus and Hindu rulers were always above board. One may wonder, whether the Kurukshetra war does not amount to fratricide! Ajatasatru (about 500 B.C.) starved his father to death. Similarly the tragic episode of Kula Sekhara Pandya (1268 to 1310 A.D.) who was killed by his son Sundara Pandya! There were attempts in south India to impose '*Turushka Danda*', a tax exclusively on Muslim subjects in retaliation to *Jizia*. Sivaji and his Maratha descendents though known for their religious tolerance were also great plunderers.

British East India Company and British Rule:

Modern economic theory suggests that international trade helps in promoting growth and eradicating poverty. The arguments however

implicitly assume certain kind of political environment. When the environment is not conducive the theory may fail. The Indian story from 16th to mid 20th century A.D. may provide an example. In 16th Century Portuguese arrived in India for trade purposes, and drove away Arab traders. The Portuguese were however hated for their forceful conversions to Christianity. Later the Dutch arrived and drove them away. In 1600 about one hundred merchants from London formed the British East India Company (BEIC, henceforth) with a Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to have sole trading rights in the East Indies. Thus the Britishers arrived, drove away the Dutch and the Portuguese, established a factory at Surat, and purchased Madras. Then France established French East India Company and the French arrived. The French however lost when conflicts arose between them and the British. The Britishers were not only carrying on the trade activities but also fishing in the politically troubled hot waters of Golkonda, Arcot, Tiruchinapoly, Travencore, Pondicherry, Mysore, Bengal, Delhi, Maratha etc. Some of these rulers became only the namesake 'rulers' with rights of collecting taxes and land revenue etc. surrendered to the BEIC (after the battle of Buxar). After the 1757 battle of Plassey, a large part of the country came under the control of the BEIC which became answerable to the British Parliament. "It was natural that those who were simply traders should think only of trade. The East India Company had been started to carry on trade, but by a set of circumstances, ... a band of merchants had become the rulers of a region peopled by millions, not of their race" – H.C. (1938).

After Robert Clive, several Governor-Generals including the notable Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, William Bentinck, Macaulay etc. administered the country. However their regimes also had several problems. For example, the Company despite enjoying unsustainable privileges and concessions over the movement of goods on land and waterways did not pay adequate salaries to their native employees, and allowed them to trade on their own account, which led to severe abuse. The Company employees became notorious for their misbehavior. Most of them shirked off their work

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making money by their own private trade activities. Whenever possible they extorted money, bribes and even demanded gifts and presents. Even the military officers were demanding extra-allowances to attend to their stipulated official duties! (Could this be the beginning of corruption in India – I wonder). The worst famine taking away one-third of the population in Bengal, and the regimes of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were the other major episodes in the latter half of the 18th century.

Some of the BEIC services were however commendable including the development of the Anglo-Hindu Law (see section on Law and Justice, above). In 1813 the Company's Charter was renewed, and major economic reforms were introduced including the way the land taxes were to be collected. Hastings (1813-1822) thought about the country in general; he gave an impetus to education in sciences and English; set up a University; carried on with public works related to roads, bridges and canals; a paper mill, printing press, and a news paper were started; the number of civil courts and judges were increased; and Indians were allowed to sit as judges. William Bentinck (1828-1835) who banned *sati*, not only allowed Indians to superior services of administration, but also abolished the criteria of religion, caste descent etc. for their appointment. Since only merit is the criterion, 'education' became a more important issue, which led to a controversy. Should it be according to the Oriental system or according to the Western thought? Ultimately when the latter was preferred, the Orientalists warned him that it would only benefit a section of the population but not all. In 1833 the new Charter did not allow the BEIC to carry on with trade activity any more; thus trading became a free activity for all. Charles Metcalfe gave freedom to the press. Hardinge banned human sacrifices and infanticide, and ordered that all the historical buildings must be protected and preserved (exactly opposite to the Muslim thought). John Lawrence brought lots of wasteland under cultivation by providing irrigation facilities. Dalhousie's regime brought Indian Railways, Telegraphs, introduction of Postal stamps, and the Public Works Department (PWD). He also expanded the education system allowing all

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languages to be taught, allowed Indians to Indian Civil Services (ICS), and passed Acts allowing remarriage of Hindu widows.

In 1857 Sepoys Mutiny took place over the reason that the sepoys had to bite the end of rifle cartridges greased with fat of cows and pigs. The mutiny led to severe harm and human loss both for British and Indians. That brought the end of the BEIC, and India came directly under the British crown. The 1858 Proclamation by the queen Victoria specifically mentioned non-interference with the religious rights of Hindus and Muslims as long as the British sovereignty was not threatened. Between 1858 and 1947 the country witnessed setting up of the Universities at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and so on by the Viceroy Canning; decentralization of public finance and expenditure to Provinces level, and setting up of Department of Agriculture by Mayo; introduction of Local Self Governments for towns and villages, removal of import taxes on several goods, freedom of expression for the Vernacular Press by Ripon; and hospitals for women by Dufferin. Curzon set up Departments of Commerce and Industry, and Archeology; reduced salt and income taxes; increased irrigation facility; and vastly expanded education facility at primary, secondary and higher levels. Bengal was partitioned into two parts. During the time of Dufferin the Indian National Congress was founded by Hume. The latter part of the story was the familiar struggle for India's independence led by many statesmen such as M.K. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar V Patel, Rajendra Prasad and many, many others, which ultimately led to modern independent India and the birth of Pakistan.

All said and done the greatest benefit India received under the British rule was that most of the country was brought under one umbrella with some sort of political stability, and in some form or the other people again mattered for the rulers unlike mostly what happened between 13th and 18th centuries. English language, Indian Railways and the administrative system - all of them significantly contributed towards this outcome.

Onslaught on Hinduism

We have seen in the last section the external threats that India encountered starting from the Darius' attacking Indus Valley up to the arrival and departure of the British who took over the country itself. Two aspects are involved here; one is political and the other is social which includes religious and cultural aspects too. Economic aspect is a byproduct of these two. The social threat to Hindu religion was not always from the external sources; sometimes it was even local. For example, Jainism, Buddhism and much later Sikhism are not foreign born. However, with the basic tenets of Jainism and Buddhism (such as truth, non-violence, austerity etc.) having a lot of common ground with those of Hindu philosophy, Hindus hardly looked at Jains and Buddhists as a threat. So is the case with Sikhism though it has some political perspective to it. As Subrahmanian (1976) says some Hindus even made Buddha a God. And that too, though these two religions do not recognize the *vEdas* as authority for *dhArmic* principles. Bauddha, Jain and Sikh Gurus command a lot of reverence from Hindus even now.

The severe onslaught on Hinduism began with Kasim's expeditions and later those of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghorī. Starting with Kutub Uddin Aibak the offence against Hinduism firmed up, and Islam got consolidated in India. The achievements, if any, are remarkable on both the sides, with neither of them could be simply wiped out. Nor could they be compounded together. Muslim rulers' policy of converting Hindus to Islam was mostly based on 'get converted, otherwise suffer death' (remember the history of Prithviraj). The lone exception to this policy was of Akbar. Only a part of the lower rung of the Hindu society submitted itself for conversion for the reasons of economic benefits of tax concessions, gaining employment in Muslim courts, and security purposes. The others simply put up with the Muslim harassment trying to adjust their lives in the company of Muslims. These people were in a way waiting for some strong Hindu ruler to arrive in future to save them,

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as the *Bagavad gIta* proclaims “संभवामि युगे युगे – *samBavAmi yugE yugE*”. The *SRuti-s* and *smRuti-s* too mention that the God would send a king for the sake of public welfare. If such a king turns to be a bad one, remove him – that also they mention. They also mention how a king should conduct himself whenever an enemy’s kingdom is won. But alas, they never mentioned what the king and the people should do if a war is lost! Thus most people quietly bore the onslaught on Hinduism by the Muslim rulers, not because of any tolerance but because they were clueless regarding what to do. Meanwhile, they stuck to their own customs, traditions and their own philosophy which included the caste factor, joint family system etc.

Portuguese also tried to force conversions (to Christianity), but their main purpose was trade and not religion; and anyway they were mostly driven out quickly. The Dutch and the French hardly settled in India to cause any onslaught on Hinduism. That leaves the British to mention. Did they also attempt any onslaught? On the face, the answer seems, ‘no’. Why? Two possibilities exist.

First is that the British themselves are hardly bothered about Christianity. Analogous to the alleged Brahmin-control over the kings in India, European history also was filled with episodes of struggle for supremacy between the Church and the kings. Thus the British could perhaps understand the negative affects of religion interfering with politics, and hence did not undertake any large scale direct program of converting Hindus to Christianity. Remember the earlier mentioned 1858 British Proclamation stressing non-interference with religious matters as long as the sovereignty is not under threat. But that doesn’t mean that the British did not interfere with individual freedoms at all levels in India. Their interference included not only with taking away rights of adopting children, and rearing them up in some cases, but also with farmers’ decisions on growing certain crops, industrialists’ investment decisions (apparently J N Tata could not get license for the steel mill in his life time), ruining local artistry and artisans, etc. It is not the religious freedom that was the issue

under the British rule, but the political freedom that became essential for economic freedom.

It appears the British never foresaw a threat to their rule from the poor masses of the country. The threat for them came from the middle and upper classes, which was in a way due to their own doing in the form of providing education according to the Western thought ignoring the Oriental system. Second possibility is that, the British thought that direct interference with the Hinduism is unnecessary because the West-oriented education would anyway slowly poison the Hindu thought so that it would ultimately die. Apart from westernizing the formal education system, a lot of literature was published criticizing the Hindu thought and propagating the Christianity. For example, look into Christian Literature Society for India (1900)'s book, "India Hindu, and India Christian (or) What Hinduism has Done for India, and What Christianity Would Do for It – An Appeal to Thoughtful Hindus". Thus the task of the onslaught on Hinduism was left to private societies.²³

But it was (is) not easy to completely get rid of the traditional Hindu thought both for literates and illiterates. Hindu philosophy, rather than any other school of thought, is psychologically much closer to the large scale masses struck with illiteracy, poverty, austerity and ascetism. Persistence with it could lead to reconciling with whatever they could achieve, or not achieve, in their lives. If the achievements are large it is all divine blessings; if they are small it is fate; – that is the maintained view. For a Hindu 'one life' is only a part of a long story.

For literates, whatever they study in schools and colleges, it is only meant for gaining formal employment, economic security and social status. Such education remained purely superficial instead of providing an appropriate perspective of life acceptable to the Hindus. The British or Western style of education system leads a lot of students, intellectuals and intelligentsia to the world outside, and in the name of modernization new ideas are acquired and alien cultures

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adapted often leading to questioning the Hindu traditions. Yet it is difficult to ascertain that they all give up Hindu perspective of life. For Hindus traditions and conventions matter a lot. “.. conventions control not only the totality but also the details, but are willing to relax on the latter but not the former. This means that peripheral or piece-meal tampering with it will not make any impact but will summon the white corpuscles of its culture to combat the alien elements.” Often of course we see the young criticizing the old for being conservative traditionalists. “....The youth in any generation is ‘progressive’ and may even hold ‘revolutionary views’, but when it succeeds to the guardianship of the community as its elders, it becomes ‘conservative’ and defensive in its attitude and behavior. In its old age, the old youthful group repents its past and pities the erring and irresponsible youngsters who ignore tradition. Thus a perpetual distance is maintained between the youth and the old of any generation” - Subrahmanian (1976).

The above discussion does not mean that there is a strong resistance to change. Hindus wholeheartedly have been welcoming new ideas of technological advances such as use of TVs, CDs, DVDs, PCs, Internet and Mobile instruments etc. which are basically culturally neutral. However cultural-neutrality is not the main issue here. Some new ideas which are not culturally neutral have also been readily accepted by Hindus. Hindu rules prohibit people crossing seas. Nowadays few foreign traveling Indians are aware of this taboo. Till a few decades ago using gas for cooking purposes was a severe taboo particularly in Brahmin houses. Nowadays except the poor there is hardly any house without LPG cylinders. More importantly, use of contraceptives was earlier not welcome; and abortion used to be considered as an act of sin. However that has nowadays become a common feature for Hindus. Hindus have historically always welcomed new ideas whenever certain cultural beliefs and practices became personally unaffordable, socially costly and unsustainable. Some ideas are welcomed, while some are outright rejected. Western style to the extent of being inconsistent to

the Hindu perspectives is neither appreciated nor deeply absorbed by the Hindus in general.

One may also note Milton Singer's contention of Max Weber's views on oriental religions. Weber thought that, oriental religions tie people to dogmatic traditions and do not allow for economic progress (See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Religion_of_India:_The_Sociology_of_Hinduism_and_Buddhism)

[The_Religion_of_India:_The_Sociology_of_Hinduism_and_Buddhism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Religion_of_India:_The_Sociology_of_Hinduism_and_Buddhism)). This view was contended by Milton Singer based on fieldworks in India during the 1950s and 1960s. Referring to Singer's study of industrialists to learn how their careers as entrepreneurs had been influenced by their culture, the University of Chicago Chronicle (1994) reports: "The results of that study support the general conclusion that these industrial leaders and their families were able to make the transitions from village and small town to a large city, and from agriculture and commerce to modern education and modern industry, without abandoning their traditional institutions," Singer wrote in a report in 1988. "Far from being major obstacles to their industrial careers, these social institutions, beliefs and rites have often proved adaptive in modern industry." (see <http://chronicle.uchicago.edu/941208/singer.shtml>).

Current Scenario and Conclusions

Generally speaking, one cannot say that the entire social value system of India based on traditions is superior to that of the West. Even in old times, India passed through several undesirable social practices such as "*sati*" (widow-burning), anti-widow-marriages, child marriages, anti-female-education, etc. India certainly learnt a lot from the Western thought in such instances. Besides, scientific research in the West did help the human race in terms of health and longevity. Western advances in science, engineering and technology did help in lighting, travel and communication facilities etc. One cannot simply dispose them of saying these are only materialistic

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aspects of life. However these advances (modern methods) are turning out to be socially costly, and ecologically and environmentally unsustainable.

On the other hand, for centuries together Indian thought had been mainly concerned with stability and sustainability of the ecology, environment and a humane society in general. The value system and the education style and the content evolved accordingly. Personal welfare in terms of becoming rich or poor was concerned as a short-term (transient) feature. Therefore the concern for purely personal well-being was relatively unimportant. When *vEda-s* and other *SAstra-s* were taught to the individuals, it was not for the individuals' economic-welfare. Utilization of the knowledge for social welfare was more important. The paradigm behind the purpose of acquiring knowledge was completely different in earlier times compared to that of the present. Present day individuals become engineers, doctors, scientists, lawyers, etc. with the aims of earning a lot that way for their own 'welfare' and personal fame. The worse aspect is that 'education' is nowadays not only a business/commercial activity with political interference, but also quite often misutilized for developing devious ways, being clever in corruption, and for cheating especially the uneducated gullible in the society. While corruption is institutionalized by ministers, bureaucrats and public servants, even saints and *swAmiji-s* have become notorious for wealth accumulation, womanization and murder attempts! All this amounts to giving up *dharma* for the sake of *artha* and *kAma*. The only *brahman* we nowadays seem to be conscious of is "greed" and the instruments of achieving it are cheating and corruption. Individual concern for social welfare has become secondary.

One unfortunate aspect is the present day unfaithful practice of Hindu conventions and traditions. Few are the scholars who know and can explain the meaning of the *vEda-s* and other *dharma SAstra-s* that they recite. Even fewer are interested in understanding them. They are nowadays needed only for a false satisfaction of

performing rituals rather than for understanding and maintaining the spirit of the Indian philosophy.

Is there a need to reorient ourselves? The question involves reorientation in our concern for values as well as reorientation in the way we live. I believe, the reorientation need not be in terms of returning to older lifestyles. Perhaps, 'it cannot be' since such a return may be neither feasible, nor desirable. Feasibility-wise, for example, most of us wouldn't like to give up our luxurious concrete houses and go back to living in huts with thatched roofs – though the latter are environmentally much safer than the former. Many such examples may be cited. Besides, in the old times, the political regimes being mostly monarchies, the kings had the power and capability to suppress any opposition to whatever was prescribed in the *SAstra-s*. Democracy as we know today was not prevalent in the earlier times. Currently neither the governments have that capability to suppress opposition, nor is the active opposition (political, religious, social, democratic, etc.) to traditions that weak. Thus the feasibility to go backwards is practically ruled out. Coming to the desirability, we may first note that some of the social maladies such as poverty, malnutrition, social inequalities, illiteracy, etc. still persist. Neither the traditional methods nor the modern methods could really solve these problems so far.

However, while devising the modern methods for 'better social welfare', we even seem to have created a lot more fresh problems. For example, different kinds of pollutions, carbon dioxide emissions, dangerous climate changes threatening food security and ecological sustainability were not ancient problems; they were created afresh. In fact traditional lifestyles prevented such problems. Similarly, development of nuclear technology brought along the dangers of nuclear weapons and terrorism. At the ground level, development of modern technology of irrigation brought along the problem of undesirable cropping patterns and land salinization. Urban pressures made land utilization awry.

Changes in life styles, from the old up to the current, have almost been imposed by the governments on all sections of the population without bothering about whether the poor can afford such a change. Philosophically there seems to be a moral issue involved here. For centuries, people thought they don't need to pay for land, water, fire, air, space, etc. The *pancha-Buta-s* are God-given free boons to all the beings – so has been the thinking. Over time the land has become precious and scarce, and got commercialized. Now money resources have become essential even to make up to a simple living. If the governments cannot ensure full employment, and cannot ensure reasonable earning ability for every household, do they have the moral right of imposing life styles which require substantial monetary resources? This brings us to another critical issue: management of common property resources (CPR) in India.

NSSO (1999) lists the CPRs meant for common use of the villages as all resources like village pastures and grazing grounds, village forest and woodlots, protected and unclassed government forests, waste land, common threshing grounds, watershed drainage, ponds and tanks, rivers, rivulets, water reservoirs, canals and irrigation channels. It says, "In the pre-British India, a very large part of the country's natural resources was freely available to the rural population. These resources were largely under the control of local communities. Gradually, with the extension of state control over these resources and the resultant decay of community management system, CPRs available to the villagers declined substantially over the years. Today, in almost all parts of the country, the villagers have a legal right of access only on some specific categories of land and water resources." - NSSO (1999). The Government of India having launched on one hand the 'Bharat Nirman' programme which includes irrigation provision and rural water supply, currently on the other hand is vigorously pursuing the idea of privatization of water distribution. Some state governments have been allowing private industrial corporates to indulge in large scale water mining, besides surrendering public rights over long stretches of rivers to them (e.g. Shivenath in Chattisgarh, Bhavani in Tamilnadu, etc.), and even

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providing subsidies to them (see Ramachandraiah (2004)). Perhaps the governments think that the poor would be better off drinking costly Coca-cola instead of safe and sweet water freely! "Privatisation will not only fail to address our existing water problems but also it will trigger new ones" (Deccan Herald editorial 09.02.2012).

Viewed from the point of advanced technology and modern management, it looks like the ancients were underutilizing the natural resources. But as we witness now, the modern methods are dependent on over-exploitation, misutilization and worse still undue commercialization of the resources. Now that the modern methods and our present lifestyles created many social problems afresh, even more modern scientific methods need to be developed to overcome them. We remain optimistic that such methods will not demand more than what the nature can accommodate to sustain us, be it for our food, water, land, clothing or housing.

The social value system of our ancestors was such that not only they enjoyed their lives, but also ensured that their contemporaries as well as future generations too would enjoy. However, the paradigm shift inherent in the values later acquired over time has now led to a situation of risk, uncertainty and insecurity; it cannot ensure that our future generations will enjoy their lives the way we have been doing. Any value system, old or modern, is worthwhile if only such an assurance can be provided.

Totally in a different context Russell (1968) says, "We are at the present day passing through a somewhat confused period, when many people have thrown over the old standards without acquiring new ones. This leads them into various troubles, and as their unconscious usually still believes in the old standards, the troubles, when they come, produce despair, remorse, and cynicism." This is true even in our present context. There is however one aspect that India has been cherishing all along; that is the trust in democracy. Not losing this tradition has been the greatest achievement for the

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independent India. Pray, India shall not lose this politically mature social value even in future.

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Code for Transliteration: The Sanskrit words have been transliterated according to the BARAHA software code.

Abbreviations: AS: *Apastamba sUtra*; AUS: *auSanasa smRuti*; BG: *Bagavad gIta*; BHS: *BartRuhari suBAShitam*; BM: *BhUpAla mandanam*; BS: *bRuhaspati smRuti*; BDS: *bauddhAyana smRuti*; BPS: *bRuhaspati artha SAstra sUtra*; CN: *chAnakya nIti*; MS: *manu smRuti*; G: General Source; GP: *garuDa purANam*; HU: *hitOpadESam*; KA: *kauTilya artha Sastra*; JS: *jAbAli smRuti*; MB: *mahABAratamm*; MB-AP: *Adi parvam* in MB; MB-ARP: *araNya parvam* in MB; MB-ASP: *anuSAsana parvam* in MB; MB-SBP: *saBA parvam* in MB; MB-SNP: *SAnti parvam* in MB; MB-UP: *udyOga*

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parvam in MB; MS-x: x-th *adhyAya* in MS; NS: *nArada smRuti*; NTS: *nIti Sastram*; PS: *parASara smRuti*; TU: *taittirIya upaniShat*; YS: *yAj~javalkya smRuti*; YS-VA: *yAj~javalkya smRuti – vyavahAra adhyAya*; RV: *Rug vEda*, YV: *yajur vEda*. MS-x-y, BM-x-y, etc.: y is only code number given in this paper.

अनुबन्धम् – मूलम्

Abhignyaana Saakuntalam-5: अविश्रमोऽयं लोकतन्त्राधिकारः । ... भानुः
सकृद्युक्तं तुरन्ताः ऐव रात्रिं दिवं गन्धर्वहः प्रयाति, शेषः सदैवाहितं भूमिभारः
षष्ठांशं वृत्तेरपि धर्म एषः ।

Abhignyaana Saakuntalam-7: भवनेषु रसाधिकेषु पूर्वं क्षितिर्क्षार्थं
उशन्ति मे निवासं, नियतं ऐकपतिव्रतानि पश्चात् तरुमूलानि गृही भवन्ति तेषां ।

AD-01: निमिषार्धेनेकं चैव द्वे च शते द्वे सहस्रे द्वे क्रममाणं योजनानाम् ।
(आर्या द्वादशकम्)

AS-2-01: धार्म्यम् शुल्कमवहारयेत्; अकरः श्रोत्रियः; सर्ववर्णानाम् च स्त्रियः;
कुमाराश्च प्राग्व्यम्जनेभ्यः; ये च विद्यार्था वसन्ति; तपस्विनश्च ये धर्मपराः; शूद्रश्च
पादावनेक्ता; अन्ध मूक बधिर रोगाविष्टाः; ये व्यर्था द्रव्यं परिग्रहैः । (आपस्तम्ब
धर्म सूत्र, द्वितीय प्रश्ना, 26 अध्याय)

AS-2-02: स्त्रीभ्यः सर्ववर्णैभ्यश्च धर्मशेषान् प्रतीयात् । (आपस्तम्ब धर्म सूत्र,
द्वितीय प्रश्ना, 29 अध्याय)

AS-2-03: जायापत्योः न विभागो विद्यते । (आपस्तम्ब धर्म सूत्र, द्वितीय प्रश्ना,
14 अध्याय)

AUS-01: नृपायां विधिना विप्राज्जातो नृप इति स्मृतः; नृपायां नृपसंसर्गात्
प्रमादात् रूढजातकः; सोऽपि क्षत्रियएव स्यात् अभिषेके च वर्जितः । (औशनस
स्मृति)

BDS-1-10-1: षड्भागं भूतो राजा रक्षेत् प्रजां । (बौद्धायन स्मृति)

BDS-2-6-17: ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो वानप्रस्थः परिव्राजक इति । (बौद्धायन स्मृति)

BG-01: स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः, परधर्मो भयावहः । (भगवद् गीता)

BHS-01: तुंगं वेश्म, सुताः सतां अभिमताः, संख्यातिगाः सम्पदः, कल्याणी दयिता, वयश्च नवं, इति अज्ञानमूढो जनः, मत्वा विश्वं अनश्वरं निविशते संसार कारागृहे, सन्दृश्य क्षणभंगुरं तदखिलं धन्यस्तु सन्न्यस्यति । (भर्तृहरि-वैराग्य शतकम्)

BHS-02: सर्वम् वस्तु भयान्वितं भुवि नृणां, वैराग्यमेव अभयं । (भर्तृहरि-वैराग्य शतकम्)

BM-Introduction: राजा राष्ट्रकृतं पापं, राजपापं पुरोहितः।

BM-1-22: प्रजाक्षेमाय भूपालं रक्षन्ति करुणाकराः ।

BM-1-75 & 76: सस्यादि ध्वंसने सेतुभेदने दाहकर्मणि, द्रोहकर्माण्यपि तथा छेदने तरुसन्ततेः, यत् दोषादिकं आदिष्टं तत्र दंडकरो भवेत् ।

BM-1-89 & 90: मार्गादि स्थापने दक्षः सस्यक्षेत्रादि कार्यकृत्, तटाक आरामकर्ता च प्रजानाम् हितदायकः, ... देवतागार कार्याणि स्वयं वा सचिवादिभिः, देशकालानुकूलानि कारयेत् कार्यसिद्धिकृत् ।

BM-1-94: नानाविध द्रव्यदायी वणिग्भिः विविधैः पुरे, नानारूपेष्वपि ग्रामेष्वपि सर्वम् हितार्थिनां ।

BM-1-96: सत्यव्रतः सत्यवादी सत्यधर्म पराक्रमः ।

BM-1-104: परदारालोकनादि विमुखो ।

BM-1-136: क्षत्र धर्म परित्राता भवेत् भूपालसत्तमः ।

BM-2-3 & 5: ना विष्णुः पृथिवीनाथः दिक्पालांश विराजितः, तेजोनिधिः धर्ममूर्तिः सत्यमूर्तिः कृपाकरः। सर्वथा माननीयः असौ प्रजानाम् हितकृन्तुपः, स एव जनकस्तासाम् प्रजानाम् परिकीर्तितः । नृपेण ध्रियते धर्मः धर्मात् प्राणिसुखादिकं ।

BM-2-9: सत्यधर्मपरो यत्र देशे वसति भूपतिः, तस्मिन् वर्षति पर्जन्यः, मेदिनी सस्यशालिनी ।

BM-2-144: नृपं विना न राज्यश्रीः शोभते बहुभूषणा ।

BM-2-145: देवानां प्रतिमा रक्षाकर्माण्यपि दृढव्रताः ।

BM-2-149: पुत्रवत् पितृवत् कार्यकालेषु हितदायिनः ।

BM-2-153: प्रजाक्षेमाय कल्प्यन्ते काले काले हितक्रियाः ।

BM-2-188 to 190: वैरिभूष प्रजाः पाल्याः स्वप्रजा इव भूमिपैः, दोषस्मरणं ऐतेषां विफलाय विनिश्चितं, खनिः पाल्याः स्वदेशेषु परदेशेषु वा तथा, तन्नाशे तु महादोषः निश्चितः शास्त्रलोचनैः, अतः सर्वप्रयत्नेन खनिपालनमीरितं, रक्ष्यम् सिंहासनं तद्वत् नवरत्न विभूषितं ।

BM-2-193 to 203: हृदकुल्या नदीकुल्या तटाकोत्था क्वचित् तथा, रक्षणीया विशेषेण नृपैः सस्यार्थं सिद्धये, अपाम् आगमनं तत्र निर्गमं चापि कारयेत्, जलाशयम् वा साधारं रक्षयेत् युक्तितो नृपः, गिरिसानौ गिरेः पार्श्वं गिरिमूर्धनि वा क्वचित् समभूमौ नदीतीरे सैकत स्रावपूरके, जलनेत्राणि शास्त्रज्ञैः निर्दिष्टानि मनीषिभिः, तद्रक्षणम् च कथितं महाक्षेमाय भूतले, जलमेव परं प्राणः प्राणिनामिह निश्चितं, सस्यवृद्धिः जलैरेव शुद्धिश्चापि तथा मतं, तद् धातुगद्या सुष्टिर्हि सर्वक्षेमाय निश्चिता, भूगर्भे सा प्रविष्टा तु ब्रह्मणा हितकारिणा, क्वचित् ऊर्ध्वं क्वचित् नीचैः जलं स्रवति नित्यशः, भूगर्भं अनुसृत्य एवं सैकतादिकम् ऐव च, शिलास्रावः क्वचित् दृष्टः रसस्तु विविधो मतः, पंचानामपि भूतानाम् ऐवमेव स्थितिक्रमः, इति निश्चित्य भूपालः प्रजानाम् हितकृत् भवेत्, सस्यवृद्धिकराणां च धनवृद्धिकृतामपि, हितकृत् भूपतिलोके गीयते श्लाघनादरंअन्नं ब्रह्म समादिष्टम् अन्नात् जीवति मानवः, अन्नेनैव हवींषि द्राक् कल्प्यन्ते देवतुष्टये, तत् सस्याधीनं आदिष्टं तस्य आधारस्तु पार्थिवः, अतः सर्व प्रयत्नेन नृपेण नयचक्षुसा, सस्यवृद्धिः सस्यरक्षा प्राणिरक्षा च भूतले, कार्येति नियमात् ।

BM-2-312: पुंसां स्त्रीणामपि तथा व्यवस्थाकृत् भवेत् नृपः, शास्त्राभ्यासः क्वचित् कल्प्यः, शास्त्राभ्यासः क्वचित् तथा ।

BM-2-323: प्रबलैः दुर्बलानां तु यथा पीडा न जायते, तथा व्यवस्थाकृत् भूपः शोभते नितरां भुवि ।

BM-2-360: ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा ये च कृषीवलाः ।

BM-2-405 & 407: कालातिक्रमणे दोषः सर्वत्र किल निश्चितः, ...
,कालातिक्रमकृत् राजा निष्फलो निन्द्यते बुधैः ।

BM-3-112: बालिकानां च बालानां किन्कराणामपि क्वचित्, कार्यनिर्वहणार्थाय
तां विद्यां वर्धयेत् नृपः ।

BPS-1-19: बहु न च स्रगनुलेपौ ।

BPS-1-45: पूर्वाचरितं धर्मं अनुजीवि सख्यम् अमात्य ज्ञाति सुहृत् बान्धवान्
समं पश्येत् ।

BPS-2-35: ऐवं पाषण्ड सम्पर्कं मनसापि न कुर्यात् ।

BPS-2-43: नीतेः फलं धर्मार्थं कामावाप्तिः ।

BPS-2-49: गुरुशासनं कार्यमेव विरुद्धं धर्मेणापि, पांडव विवाहमिव, अर्जुनस्य
सत्र्यासमिव, व्यास विधवागमनमिव, कर्णोत्पादनमिव, राम मातृवधमिव ।

BPS-2-50: नीतिवियुक्तः पुत्र इव शत्रुः ।

BPS-2-73 & 74: गुरुवचनं अलङ्घनीयं नयानुगतं चेत्, गुरुमपि नीतिवियुक्तम्
निरासयेत् ।

BPS-3-6: बहुवादं मधुरमेव कुर्यात् ।

BPS-3-50 & 51: अन्य राष्ट्रजान् द्विजान् क्षत्रबन्धून् कुमारसामन्तादीन्
आत्मवत् सम्भावयेत्, भोजन आच्छादनादिभिः। शरणागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमपि
रक्षेत् ।

BPS-3-134: कर्मभूमौ भारते मनुष्यैः बहवो देवाः ।

BPS-3-148: विरुद्ध धर्म वर्ण वेषा दण्डनीति वर्जिताः, पश्यन्ति प्रजा अनृतवाद
तत्पराः ।

BPS-4-30, 34 & 35: बन्धुभिः बान्धवैः हितैः बहुशतैः धीरैः सह यत् कर्मरभते तदुत्तमं। ऐकमत्येन दण्डनीति नेत्रेण धीरैः मन्त्रिभिः यो मन्त्रः, स उत्तमः। पूर्वम् बहुबुद्धयः पश्चात् ऐकमतयो भवन्ति यत्र स मध्यमः ।

BPS-5-10, 11, & 12: ज्ञातीनां ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृष्यन्ति। ज्ञातिं ज्ञातयः प्रच्छन्नहृदयाः क्रूरा उपद्रवन्ति। सर्वभयेषु ज्ञातिभयं घोरं ।

BPS-6: धनमूलं जगत् । अर्थं आर्जयेत् । यस्य अर्थराशिरस्ति, तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणविक्रमौ च बुद्धिश्च । अधनेन अर्थं आर्जयितुं न शक्यते गजो अगजेनेवा निर्धनो मृत चंडालश्च ।

BS-62 & 63: यस्तडाकं नवं कुर्यात् पुराणं वापि खानयेत्, स सर्वं कुलं उद्धृत्य स्वर्गे लोके महीयते। वापी कूप तडागानि उद्यान उपवनानि च, पुनः संस्कारकर्ता च लभते मौलिकं फलं । (बृहस्पति स्मृति)

Chamakam-4: ऊर्चश्चमे, सूनृताचमे, पयश्चमे, रसश्चमे, घृतचमे, मधुचमे, सग्धिश्चमे, सपीतिश्चमे, कृषिश्चमे, वृष्टिश्चमे, जैत्रचमे, औद्धिद्यंचमे, रयिश्चमे, रायश्चमे, पुष्टचमे, पुष्टिश्चमे, विभुचमे, प्रभुचमे, बहुचमे, भूयश्चमे, पूर्णचमे, पूर्णतरंचमे, अक्षितिश्चमे, कूयवाश्चमे, अन्नचमे, अक्षुश्चमे, व्रीहयश्चमे, यवाश्चमे, माषाश्चमे, तिलाश्चमे, मुद्गाश्चमे, खल्वाश्चमे, गोधूमाश्चमे, मसुराश्चमे, प्रियंगवश्चमे, अणवश्चमे, श्यामाकाश्चमे, नीवाराश्चमे, कल्पतां ।

CN-01: वरं न राज्यं न कुराज राज्यं, ... कुराज राज्येन कुतः प्रजा सुखं । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-02: पृथिव्यां त्रीणि रत्नानि, जलं अन्नं सुभाषितम् । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-03: त्यजन्ति मित्राणि धनैर्विहीनं दाराश्च भृत्याश्च सुहृज्जनाश्च, तं च अर्थवन्तं पुनराश्रयन्ते अर्थोहि लोके पुरुषस्य बन्धुः। (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-04: दरिद्रस्य विषं गोष्ठी । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-05: न बन्धुमध्ये धनहीनं जीवनं । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-06: धनिनं निर्धनं चैव निर्धनं धनिनं विधिः (करोति) । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-07: आत्मापराधं वृक्षस्य फलान्येतानि देहिनां, दासिद्य रोग दुःखानि बन्धन व्यसनानि च । (चाणक्य नीति)

CN-08: दासिद्य नाशनं दानं न च धर्मो दया अपरः । (चाणक्य नीति)

G-01: अयम् निजः परो वेत्ति गणना लघुचेतसां, उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ।

GP-01: सुखस्य दुःखस्य न कोपि दाता, परो ददातीति कुबुद्धिरेषा, स्वयंकृतं स्वेन फलेन युज्यते, शरीरं हे निस्तरं यत्त्वया कृतं । (गरुड पुराणं)

HU: वारांगनेव नृपनीतिः अनेकरीतिः । (भर्तृहरि नीति शतकम् च)

JS: ब्रह्मचर्यं परिसमाप्य गृही भवेत्, गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत्, वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत्; यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यदेव प्रव्रजेत् गृहाद्वा वनाद्वा । [जाबाल स्मृति – quoted in Pullela (2003)].

KA-AP-01: 'अल्पायतिश्चेत् महाव्ययो भक्षयति, विपर्यये यथायतिव्ययश्च न भक्षयति' इति आचार्याः; अपसर्पेनैव उपलभ्येत इति कौटिल्यः । – (कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र – अध्यक्ष प्रचार – उपयुक्त परीक्षा)

KA-AKK-01: आकरप्रभवः कोशः, कोशात् दण्डः प्रजायते, पृथिवी कोशदण्डाभ्यां प्राप्यते कोशभूषणा । – (कौटिल्य अर्थ शास्त्र – अध्यक्ष प्रचार – आकरकर्मान्त प्रवर्तनं)।

KA-KS-01: जनपदं महान्तं अल्पप्रमाणं वा अदेवमातृकं प्रभूतधान्यं धान्यस्यांशं तृतीयं चतुर्थं वा याचेत, यथा सारं मध्यमवरं वा; दुर्ग-सैतु-कर्म-वणिक्-पथ-शून्यनिवेश-खनि-द्रव्य-हस्ति-वन-कर्मोपकारिणं प्रत्यन्तं अल्पप्रमाणं वा न याचेत; धान्यं पशु हिरण्यादि निविशमानाय दद्यात्; चतुर्थमंशं धान्यानां बीजभक्तं शुद्धं च हिरण्येन क्रीणीयात् । (कौटिल्य अर्थ शास्त्र – योगवृत्तं – कोशाभि संहरणं)

KA-VR-01: कारुशिल्पिनां कर्मगुणापकर्षमाजीवं विक्रयक्रयोपघातं वा सम्भूय समुत्थापयतां सहस्रं दण्डः; वैदेहकानां वा सम्भूय पण्यं अवरुन्धतां अनर्घेण विक्रीणतां वा सहस्रं दण्डः; तुलामानान्तरं अर्घवर्णान्तरं वा धरकस्य मायकस्य वा पणमूल्यात् अष्टभागं हस्तदोषेणाचरतो द्विशतो दण्डः; तेन द्विशतोत्तरा दण्डवृद्धिः व्याख्याता; धान्य स्नेह क्षार लवण गन्ध भैषज्य द्रव्याणां समवर्णोपधाने द्वादशपणो दण्डः; यन्निष्ठम् उपजीवेयुः तदेषां दिवस संजातं संख्याय वणिक् स्थापयेत्; क्रेतु विक्रेत्रोः अन्तरपतितं आदायात् अन्यत् भवति; ... अनुज्ञातक्रयादुपरि चैषां स्वदेशीयानां पण्यानां पंचकं शतं आजीवं स्थापयेत्, परदेशीयानाम् दशकं । (कौटिल्य अर्थ शास्त्र – कण्टक शोधनम् – वैदेहक रक्षणं)

KA-VR-02: पण्यबाहुल्यात् पण्याध्यक्षः सर्वपण्यानि ऐकमुखानि विक्रीणीत; तेषु अविक्रीतेषु नान्ये विक्रीणीरन्; तानि दिवस वेतनेन विक्रीणीरन् अनुग्रहेण प्रजानां । (कौटिल्य अर्थ शास्त्र – कण्टक शोधनम् – वैदेहक रक्षणं)

Mantrapushpam: योषां पुष्पं वेद, पुष्पवान् प्रजावान् पशुमान् भवति, चन्द्रमावा अपां पुष्पं, पुष्पवान् प्रजावान् पशुमान् भवति, य एवं वेद, योषां आयतनं वेद, आयतनवान् भवति । (Note: 'Pushpavaan' implies virile person and also sun & moon).

MB-AP-01: वैत्रकीय गृहे राजा नायं नयं इहास्थितः, अनामयं जनस्यास्य येन स्यात् अद्य शाश्वतं ऐतत् अर्हा वयं नूनं वसामो दुर्बलस्य ये, विषये नित्यं उद्विग्नाः कुराजानं उपाश्रिताः. .. राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्या ततो धनं, त्रयस्य संचये चास्य ज्ञातीन् पुत्रांश्च धारयेत्। विपरीतं मया चेदं त्रयं सर्वं उपार्जितं. .. न च मे विद्यते वित्तं संक्रेतुम् पुरुषम् क्वचित् । – महभारतं, आदि पर्व.

MB-AP-02: न चापि अनिष्टः पुत्रो मे यदि पुत्र शतं भवेत् । – महभारतं, आदि पर्व.

MB-ARP-YP-01: शृणु यक्ष कुलं तात न स्वाध्यायो न च शृतं, कारणं हि द्विजत्वे च वृत्तमेव न संशयः । – महभारतं, आरण्यक पर्व, यक्ष प्रश्ना

MB-ARP-YP-02: मृतो दरिद्रः पुरुषो मृतम् राष्ट्रमराजकं । – महभारतं, आरण्यक पर्व, यक्ष प्रश्ना ।

MB-ASP-01: अरक्षितारं हर्तारं विलोप्यारं अदायकं, तं स्म राजकलिं हन्युः प्रजाः संभूय निर्घृणं। अहं वो रक्षितेति उक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिपः स संहत्य निहन्तव्यः स्वेव सोन्माद आतुरः। पापं कुर्वन्ति यत् किं चित् प्रजा राज्ञा हि अरक्षिताः चतुर्थं तस्य पापस्य राजा भारत विन्दति। अप्याहुः सर्वम् ऐवेति भूयोर्ध इति निश्चयः चतुर्थं मतं अस्माकं मनोः श्रुत्वानुशासनं। शुभं वा यत् प्रकुर्वन्ति प्रजा राज्ञा सुरक्षिताः चतुर्थं तस्य पुण्यस्य राजा चाप्नोति भारत । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-02: त्रिषु लोकेषु सर्वत्र पूजितो यस् तडागवान्। ... धर्मस्यार्थस्य कामस्य फलं आहर् मनीषिणः, तडागं सुकृतं देशे क्षेत्रं ऐव महाश्रयं। देवा मनुष्या गन्धर्वाः पितरोऽपि राक्षसाः, स्थावराणि च भूतानि संश्रयन्ति जलाशयं। दुर्लभं सलिलं तात विशेषेण परत्र वै, पानीयस्य प्रदानेन प्रीतिर् भवति शाश्वती। सर्वदानैर् गुरुतरं सर्वदानैर् विशिष्यते, पानीयं नरशार्दूल तस्माद् दातव्यं ऐव हि । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-03: पुष्पिताः फलवन्तश्च तर्पयन्तीह मानवान् वृक्षदं पुत्रवद् वृक्षास्तारयन्ति परत्र च। तस्मात् तडागे वृक्षावै रोप्याः श्रेयो अर्थिना सदा पुत्रवत् परिपाल्यश्च पुत्रास् ते धर्मतः स्मृताः । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-04: अचिन्तितम् अनुद्दिष्टं असंकल्पितं ऐव च रसं गृध्याभिभूता वै प्रशंसन्ति फलार्थिनः प्रशंसा हि ऐव मांसस्य दोषकर्मफलान्विता दुष्करं हि रसज्ञेन मांसस्य परिवर्जनं । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-05: न भक्षयति यो मांसं न हन्यात् न च घातयेत् तं मित्रं सर्वभूतानां मनुः स्वायम्भुवो अब्रवीत् । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-06: चर्तुं व्रतं इदं श्रेष्ठं सर्वप्राणि अभयप्रदं सर्वभूतेषु यो विद्वान् ददाति अभयदक्षिणां दाता भवति लोके स प्राणानां नात्र संशयः। ऐवं वै परमं धर्मं प्रशंसन्ति मनीषिणः, प्राणा यथात्मनो अभीष्टा भूतानां अपि ते तथा, आत्मौपम्येन गन्तव्यं बुद्धिमद्भिः महात्मभिः मृत्युतो भयम् अस्तीति विदुषां भूतिम्

इच्छतां। किं पुनः हन्यमानानां तरसा जीवितार्थिनां अरोगानां अपापानां पापैः
मांसोपजीविभिः । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-07: स्त्रियोहि मूलं दोषाणां लघु चित्ताः । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-08: अहिंसा परमो धर्मः तथा अहिंसा परं तपः, अहिंसा परमं सत्यं
ततो धर्मः प्रवर्तते । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-ASP-09: अहिंसा सत्यं अक्रोध आनृशं दमस् तथा आर्जवं चैव राजेन्द्र
निश्चितं धर्मलक्षणं । – महभारतं, अनुशासन पर्व.

MB-SBP-01: कच्चित् अर्थेन वा धर्मं धर्मेण अर्थं अथापि वा, उभौ वा
प्रीतिसारेण न कामेन परिबाधसे; कच्चित् अर्थं च धर्मं च कामं च जयताम् वर,
विभज्य काले कालज्ञं सदा वरदं सेवसे । – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-02: समश्च न अभिशङ्क्यश्च यथा माता यथा पिता । – महभारतं,
सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-03: कच्चित् परकृतयः सत् तेन लुप्ता भरतर्षभ, आध्यास् तथा
व्यसिनिनः स्वनुरक्ताश्च सर्वशः । – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-04: कच्चित् सहस्रैः मूर्खाणां एकम् क्रीणासि पण्डितं, पण्डितोहि
अर्थकृच्छेषु कुर्यात् निश्श्रेयसं परं । – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-05: कच्चित् बलस्य भक्तम् च वेतनं च यथोचितं, सम्प्राप्तं कालं
दातव्यं ददासि न विकर्षसि। कालातिक्रमणात् ध्येते भक्त वेतनयोः भूताः, भर्तुः
कुप्यन्ति दौर्गत्यात् स अनर्थः सुमहान् स्मृतः । – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-06: कच्चित् पुरुषकारेण पुरुषः कर्मशोभयन् लभते मानं अधिकं
भूयो वा भक्त वेतनं । – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-07: कच्चित् पुष्टाः कृषीवलाः । कच्चित् राष्ट्रे तडागानि पूर्णानि
महान्ति च, भागसो विनिविष्टानि न कृषिः देव मातृका। कच्चित् बीजं च भक्तं च

कर्षकाय अवसीदते, प्रतिकं च शतम् वृद्ध्या ददास्य ऋणं अनुग्रहं। कच्चित्
स्वनुष्ठिता तात वार्ता ते साधुभिर्जनैः ? – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SBP-08: कच्चित् आयस्य च अर्थेन चतुर्भागेन वा पुनः, पादभागैः त्रिभिः
वापि व्ययः सम्शोध्यते तवा – महभारतं, सभा पर्व.

MB-SNP-01: अहिंसार्थाय भूतानां धर्मं प्रवचनं कृतं, यः स्याद् अहिंसा
संयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः । – महभारतं, शान्ति पर्व.

MB-SNP-02: यदा भूतपृथग्भावं एकस्थम् अनुपश्यति, तत एव च विस्तारं
ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा। ते जनानां गतिं यान्ति न अविद्वांसो अल्पचेतसः न अबुद्धयो
न अतपसः, सर्वं बुद्धौ प्रतिष्ठितं । – महभारतं, शान्ति पर्व.

MB-SNP-03: नष्टे धने वा दारे वा पुत्रे पितरि वा मृते, अहो कष्टम् इति ध्यायन्
शोकस्यापचितिं चरेत्। स किं शोचसि मूढः संशोच्यः किं अनुशोचसि, पश्य
दुःखेषु दुःखानि भयेषु च भयानि अपि। आत्मापि चायं न मम सर्वापि पृथिवी
मम, यथा मम तथान्येषां इति पश्यन् न मुह्यति। शोकस्थान सहस्राणि हर्षस्थान
शतानि च, दिवसे दिवसे मूढं आविशन्ति न पण्डितं। एवं एतानि कालेन प्रिय
द्वेष्यानि भागशः, जीवेषु परिवर्तन्ते दुःखानि च सुखानि च। दुःखं एवास्ति न
सुखं तस्मात् तद् उपलभ्यते, तृप्तार्तिं प्रभवन् दुःखं दुःखार्तिं प्रभवन् सुखं।
सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखं, न नित्यं लभते दुःखम् न नित्यं लभते
सुखं। सुखं अन्ते हि दुःखानां दुःखं अन्ते सुखस्य च, तस्माद् एतद् द्वयं जह्याद्
य इच्छेत् च शाश्वतं सुखं। यन्निमित्तम् भवेत् शोकस् तापो वा दुःखमूर्च्छितः,
आयसो वापि यन् मूलः तद् एकांगं अपि त्यजेत्। सुखं वा यदि वा दुःखं प्रियं
वा यदि वा अप्रियं प्राप्तं प्राप्तं उपासीत हृदयेन अपराजितः । – महभारतं,
शान्ति पर्व.

MB-UP-VN-01: प्रायेण श्रीमतां लोके भोक्तुं शक्तिर्न विद्यते, जीर्यत्यपि हि
काष्ठानि दरिद्राणां महीपते । – – महभारतं, उद्योग-प्रजागर पर्व, विदुर नीति.

MB-UP-VN-02: ऐकः सम्पन्नमश्नाति वस्ते वासश्च शोभनं, यो असंविभज्य भृत्येभ्यः को अनृशंसतरः ततः । चत्वारि ते तात गृहे वसन्तु श्रियाभिजुष्टस्य गृहस्थ धर्मे, वृद्धो ज्ञातिः अवसन्नः कुलीनः सखा दरिद्रो भगिनी च अनपत्या ।
– महभारतं, उद्योग-प्रजागर पर्व, विदुर नीति.

MB-UP-VN-03: अवृत्तिर्भयं अन्त्यानां मध्यानां मरणात् भयं, उत्तमानां तु मर्त्यानां अवमानात् परं भयं । – महभारतं, उद्योग-प्रजागर पर्व, विदुर नीति.

MB-UP-VN-04: त्रय ऐव अधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः, यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्स्य तद्धनं । – महभारतं, उद्योग-प्रजागर पर्वे च, विदुर नीति.

MS-1-86: दानमेकं कलौ युगे ।

MS-2-6: वेदः अखिलो धर्म मूलं, ... आत्मनः तुष्टिरेव च ।

MS-2-112: धर्मार्थौ यत्र न स्यातां सुशृषावापि तद्विधा, तत्र विद्या न वक्तव्या, शुभम् बीजं इवोषरे ।

MS-2-157: यथा काष्ठमयो हस्ती, यथा चर्ममयो मृगः, यश्च विप्रो अनधीयानस्त्रयस्ते नाम विस्मृति ।

MS-2-224: धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः, कामार्थौ, धर्म एव च, अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयः, त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ।

MS-2-238 & 240: श्रद्धधानः शुभां विद्यां आददीत अवरदपि, अन्त्यादपि परं धर्मं स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि स्त्रियो रत्नान्यथो विद्या धर्मः शौचं सुभाषितं, विविधानिच शिल्पानि समादेयानि सर्वतः ।

MS-3-76: अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतिः सम्यग् आदित्यम् उपतिष्ठते, आदित्याज्जायतो वृष्टिः, वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजाः ।

MS-3-77 & 78: यथा वायुं समाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्व जन्तवः, तथा गृहस्थम् आश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्व आश्रमाः । यस्मात् त्रयोपि आश्रमिणो ज्ञानेन अन्नेन चान्वहं, गृहस्थेनैव धार्यन्ते तस्मात् ज्येष्ठाश्रमो गृही ।

MS-3-116 to 118: भुक्तवत्स्वथ विप्रेषु स्वेषु भृत्येषु चैवहि, भुंजीयाताम् ततः पश्चात् अवशिष्टं तु दम्पती । देवान् ऋषीन् मनुष्यान्श्च पितृन् गृह्याश्च देवताः, पूजयित्वा ततः पश्चात् गृहस्थः शेषभुक् भवेत् । अर्घं स केवलं भुङ्क्ते यः पचति आत्म कारणात् ।

MS-4-176: परित्यजेत् अर्थकामौ यौ स्याताम् धर्मवर्जितौ, धर्मं चापि असुखोदकं लोकविकृष्टमेव च ।

MS-5-48: नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसां मांसं उत्पद्यते क्वचित्, न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्ग्यः तस्मात् मांसं विवर्जयेत् ।

MS-6-35: ऋणानि त्रीणि अपाकृत्य मनो मोक्षे निवेशयेत्, अनपाकृत्य मोक्षं तु सेवमानो ब्रजत्यधः ।

MS-6-92: धृतिः क्षमा दमोस्तेयं शौचं इन्द्रियनिग्रहः, धीः विद्या सत्यमक्रोधः दशकं धर्म लक्षणं ।

MS-7-3: अराजके हि लोकेस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात्, रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानं असृजत् प्रभुः ।

MS-7-20: यदि न प्रणयेद् राजा दंडं दंडेषु अवतन्द्रितः, शूले मत्स्यानिव अपक्ष्यन् दुर्बलान् बलवत्तराः ।

MS-7-54: सचिवान् सप्त च अष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वेत परीक्षितान् ।

MS-7-144: क्षत्रियस्य परोधर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनं ।

MS-8-14 & 15: यत्र धर्मो ह्यधर्मेण सत्यं यत्र नानृतेन च, हन्यते प्रेक्षमाणानां हतास्तत्र सभासदः । धर्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः, तस्मात् धर्मो न हन्तव्यः मानो धर्मो हतोवधीत् ।

MS-8-17: ऐक एव सुहृत् धर्मो निधनेपि अनुयाति यः, शरीरेण समं नाशं सर्वमन्यद्भि गच्छति ।

MS-8-85: मन्यन्ते वै पापकृतो न कश्चित् पश्यतीति नः, तान्स्तु देवाः प्रपश्यन्ति स्वस्यैव अन्तरपूरुषः ।

MS-8-170: अनादेयं नाददीत परिक्षीणोपि पार्थिवः, नचादेयं समृद्धोपि सूक्ष्मप्यर्थं उत्सृजेत् ।

MS-8-216: आर्त्तस्तु कुर्यात् स्वस्थः सन् यथाभाषितमादितः, स दीर्घस्यापि कालस्य तल्लभेतैव वेतनं ।

MS-8-219: यो ग्राम देश सन्धानां कृत्वा सत्येन संविदं, विसंवदेन्नरो लोभान्तं राष्ट्रान् विप्रवासयेत् ।

MS-8-304: सर्वतो धर्म षड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षतः, अधर्मादपि षड्भागो भवत्यस्य हि अरक्षतः ।

MS-8-307: यो अरक्षन् बलिमादत्ते करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः, प्रतिभागं च दंडं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ।

MS-8-399: राज्ञः प्रख्यात भान्डानि प्रतिषिद्धानि यानि च, तानि निर्हरतो लोभान् सर्वहारं हरेत् नृपः ।

MS-8-407: गर्भिणी तु द्विमासादिस्तथा प्रव्रजितो मुनिः, ब्राह्मणा लिङ्गिनश्चैव न दाप्यास्तारिकं तरे ।

MS-8-411: क्षत्रियं चैव वैश्यं च ब्राह्मणो वृत्तिकर्षितौ, विभूयात् आनृशंस्येन स्वानि कर्माणि कारयन् ।

MS-8-415: ध्वजाहृतो भक्तदासो गृहजः क्रीतदन्त्रिमौ, पैत्रिको दण्ड दासश्च सप्तैते दासयोनयः ।

MS-8-418: वैश्य शूद्रो प्रयत्नेन स्वानि कर्माणि कारयेत्, तौ हि च्युतौ स्वकर्मभ्यः क्षोभयेतां इदं जगत् ।

MS-9-03, 11 & 26: पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने, रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्राः न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यं अर्हति। अर्थस्य संग्रहे चैनां व्यये चैव नियोजयेत्, शौचे धर्मं अन्नपकृत्यां च पारिणाह्यस्य वैक्षण्ये। प्रजानार्थं महाभागाः पूजार्हा गृह दीप्तयः, स्त्रियः श्रियश्च गेहेषु न विशेषोस्ति कश्चन ।

MS-9-88, 89 & 90: उत्कृष्टाय अभिरुपाय वराय सदृशायच, अप्राप्तमपि तां तस्मै कन्यां दद्यात् यथाविधि। कामं आमरणात् तिष्ठेत् गृहे कन्यर्तुमत्यपि, न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत् गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित्। त्रीणि वर्षाणि उदीक्षेत कुमारी ऋतुमती सती, उर्ध्वं तु कालात् एतस्मात् विन्देत सदृशम् पतिम् ।

MS-9-118: स्वेभ्योऽंशेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदद्युः भ्रातरः पृथक्, स्वात्स्वादम्शात् चतुर्भागं पतिताः स्युः अदित्सवः ।

MS-9-130 & 131: यथैव आत्मा तथैव पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा, तस्यां आत्मनि तिष्ठन्तां कथं अन्यो धनं हरेत्। मातुस्तु यौतकं यत् स्यात् कुमारीभाग एव सः ।

MS-9-206: विद्या धनं तु यद्यस्य तत् तस्यैव धनं भवेत् ।

MS-9-221: दूतम् समाह्वयं चैव राजा राष्ट्रात् निवारयेत्, राज्यान्तकारणौ एतौ द्वौ दोषौ पृथिवीक्षितां ।

MS-9-280 to 284: कोष्ठागार आयुधागार देवतागार भेदकान्, हस्ति अश्व रथ हन्तृश्च हन्यादेव अविचारयन्। यस्तु पूर्वनिविष्टस्य तडागस्य उदकं हरेत्, आगमं वाप्यपाम् भिन्द्यात् स दाप्यः पूर्व साहसं। समुत्सृजेत् राजमार्गं यत् स्वमेध्यमनापदि स द्वौ कार्षापणौ दद्यात् अमेध्यं च आशु शोधयेत्। आपद्रतो अथवा वृद्धो गर्भिणी बाल एव वा, परिभाषणं अर्हन्ति तच्च शोध्यमिति स्थितिः ।

MS-9-291 & 293: अबीजविक्रयी चैव बीजोत्कृष्टं तथैव च, मर्यादा भेदकश्चैव विकृतं प्राप्नुयाद् वधं। सीता द्रव्यापहरणे शस्त्राणां औषधस्य च, कालमासाद्य कार्यं च राजा दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

MS-10-63: अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचं इन्द्रिय निग्रहः, एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्ये अब्रवीद् मनुः ।

MS-10-115 & 116: सप्तवित्तागमा धर्म्यादायो लाभः ऋयो जयः, प्रयोगः कर्मयोगश्च सत्प्रतिग्रह एव च। विद्या शिल्पं भृतिः सेवा गोरक्ष्यं विपणिः कृषिः, धृतिः भैक्ष्यं कुसीदं च दश जीवनहेतवः ।

MS-10-117: ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वापि वृद्धिं नैव प्रयोजयेत्, कामं तु खलु धर्मार्थं कुर्यात् पापीयसे अल्पिकां ।

MS-11-24, 25, 26: न यज्ञार्थं धनं शूद्रात् विप्रो भिक्षेत कर्हिचित् । यज्ञार्थं अर्थं भिक्षित्वा यो न सर्वं प्रयच्छति, स याति भासतां विप्रः काकतां वा शतं समाः। देवस्त्वं ब्राह्मणस्त्वं वा लोभेन उपहिनस्ति यः, स पापात्मा परे लोके गृध्रोच्छिष्टेन जीवति ।

MS-11-33 & 34: वाक् शस्त्रम् वै ब्राह्मणस्य तेन हन्यात् अरीन् द्विजः । क्षत्रियो बाहुवीर्येण तरेत् आपदं आत्मनः, धनेन वैश्य शूद्रौ तु, जपहोमैः द्विजोत्तमः ।

MS-11-40: हन्त्यल्पदक्षिणो यज्ञः, तस्मात् न अल्पधनो यजेत् ।

MS-11-65: इन्धनार्थं अशुष्काणां दूमाणां अवपातनं उपपातकं ।

MS-11-85: ब्राह्मणः संभवेनैव देवानामपि दैवतं ।

MS-11-94: ब्राह्मण राजन्यौ वैश्यश्च न सुराम् पिबेत् ।

MS-11-143: फलदानां तु वृक्षाणां छेदने जप्यं ऋक् शतं, गुल्म वल्ली लतानां च पुष्पितानां च वीरुधां ।

MS-11-145: कृष्टजानां ओषधीनां उत्पन्नानां स्वयं वने, वृथालम्भे अनुगच्छेत् गां दिनमेकं पयोव्रतः ।

NTS-01: अर्थाः गृहे निवर्तन्ते श्मशाने मित्रबान्धवाः, सुकृतं दुष्कृतं चैव गच्छन्तं अनुगच्छति । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-02: दुर्बलस्य बलं राजा । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-03: ऋणं याचना च वृद्धत्वं जार चोर दरिद्रता, रोगश्च ऋणशेषश्च
अष्टकष्टः प्रकीर्तिताः । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-04: माता निन्दति नाभिनन्दति पिता भ्राता न संभाषते, भृत्यः कुप्यति
नानुगच्छतिषतः कान्तासिनानिनागते, अर्थप्रार्थन शंकया न कुरुते सल्लापमात्रं
सुहृत् । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-05: क्षुधातुराणां न रुचिर् न पक्वं । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-06: अदानदोषेण भवेत् दरिद्रो दारिद्र्य दोषेण करोति पापं, पापात् अवश्यं
नरकं प्रयाति पुनः दरिद्रं पुनरेव पापं । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-07: अर्थानां आर्जने दुःखं, आर्जितानां च रक्षणे, आर्जे दुःखं, व्यये
दुःखं, किमर्थम् दुःखभाजनं । (नीति शास्त्रं)

NTS-08: विप्राणां ज्ञानितो ज्येष्ठः, क्षत्रियाणां तु वीर्यतः, वैश्यानां धान्यधनतः
शूद्राणामेव जन्मतः । (नीति शास्त्रं)

P-YS-01: कायिका कालिका चैव कारिता च ततः परा, चक्रवृद्धिश्च शास्त्रेषु
तस्य वृद्धिः चतुर्विधा । – (Quoted by Pullela (2003) in
Yajnyavalkya Smriti, Runaadaana Prakaranam)

PS-1-22 & 23: अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माः, त्रेतायां द्वापरे युगे, अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां
युगरूपानुसारतः । तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते, द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुः,
दानमेव कलौ युगे ।

PS-1-39: संध्या स्नानं जपो होमो देवता अतिथि पूजनं, आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च
षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ।

PS-2-2: षट्कर्मसहितो विप्रः, कृषिकर्म च कारयेत् ।

PS-2-3 & 4: क्षुधितं तृषितं श्रान्तं बलीवर्दं न योजयेत्, हीनानां व्याधितं क्लीबं
वृषं विप्रो न वाहयेत्। स्थिरानां बलीवर्दः तृप्तं सुनर्दं षण्डवर्जितं, वाहयेत्
दिवसस्य अर्धं पश्चात् स्नानं समाचरेत् ।

PS-2-12 & 13: राज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षड्भागं देवानां च ऐकविंशकं, विप्राणाम् त्रिंशकं भागं सर्व पापैः प्रमुच्यते। क्षत्रियोपि कृषिं कृत्वा देवान् विप्रान्श्च पूजयेत्, वैश्यः शूद्रस्तथा कुर्यात् कृषि वाणिज्य शिल्पकम् । चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां एष धर्मः सनातनः ।

PS-4-16: दरिद्रं व्याधितं मूर्खं भर्तारं या अवमन्यते, सा शुनी जायते मृत्वा सूकरी च पुनः पुनः ।

PS-4-20: यत् पापं ब्रह्महत्यायां द्विगुणं गर्भपातने, प्रायश्चित्तं न तस्याः स्यात् तस्याः त्यागो विधीयते ।

PS-4-22: ओष वाताहतं बीजं यस्य क्षेत्रे प्ररोहति, स क्षेत्री लभते बीजं न बीजी भागमर्हति ।

PS-7-36: देशभनो प्रवासे वा व्याधिषु व्यसनेष्वपि, रक्षेदेव स्वदेहादि पश्चात् धर्मं समाचरेत् ।

PS-8-4: अत्रतानां अमन्त्राणां जातिमात्रोपजीविनां, सहस्रशः समेतानां परिषत्वं न विद्यते ।

PS-8-6: अज्ञात्वा धर्मशास्त्राणि प्रायश्चित्तं ददाति यः, प्रायश्चित्ती भवेत् पूतः, किल्बिषं पर्षदि व्रजेत् ।

PS-8-7: चत्वारो वा त्रयो वापि यं ब्रूयुः वेदपाशगाः, स धर्मंति विज्ञेयो नेतरैस्तु सहस्रशः ।

PS-8-13: मुनीनां आत्मविद्यानां द्विजानां यज्ञयाजिनां वेदव्रतेषु स्नातानां ऐकोपि परिषद् भवेत् ।

PS-8-15: ... ये विप्राः केवलं नामधारकाः परिषत्त्वम् न तेष्वस्ति सहस्रगुणितेष्वपि ।

PS-12-46: न्याय्योपार्जितं वित्तेन कर्तव्यं हि आत्मरक्षणं, अन्याय्येन तु यो जीवेत् सर्वकर्म बहिष्कृतः ।

PS-12-51: कुटुंबिने दरिद्राय श्रोत्रियाय विशेषतः, यत् दानं दीयते तस्मै तत् दानं शुभकारकं ।

PS-12-52: वापी कूप तडागाद्यैः वाजपेय शतैर्मखैः, गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुद्ध्यति ।

Raghuvamsam-1-1: प्रजानां विनयाधानात् रक्षणात् भ्रणादपि, स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ।

Raghuvamsam-1-2: प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत्, सहस्रगुणमुत्सृष्टुं आदत्ते हि रसं रविः ।

Raghuvamsam-4: नयविद्धिर्नवे राज्ञि सदसच्चोपदर्शितं, पूर्वम् ऐवाभवत् पक्षः तस्मिन् नाभवत् उत्तरः ।

Raghuvamsam-5: निवर्त्यते यैर्नियमाभिषेको येभ्यो निवापान्जलयः पितृणां, तान्युच्छ षष्टान्कित सैकतानि शिवानि वस्तीर्थजलानि कच्चित् ।

Raghuvamsam-17-01: न धर्मं अर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ, नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सौर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु ।

Raghuvamsam-17-02: तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यः तस्करेभ्यश्च संपदः, यथास्वमाश्रमैः चक्रे वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक्। खनिभिः सुषुवे रत्नं क्षेत्रैः सस्यं वनैर्गजान्, इति क्रमात् प्रयुज्जानो राजनीतिं चतुर्विधां ।

Raghuvamsam-17-03: वापीष्विव स्रवन्तीषु वनेषूपवनेष्विव, सार्थाः स्वैरं स्वकीयेषु चेरुर्वैश्मस्विवादिषु ।

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-01: क्षत्रम् ब्रह्ममुखं चासीत् वैश्याः क्षत्रमनुव्रताः, शूद्राः स्वधर्मनिरताः त्रीन् वर्णानुपचारिणः । (6 सर्ग)

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-02: नृशंसम् अनृशंसं वा प्रजारक्षणकारणात्, पातकं वा सदोषं वा कर्तव्यं रक्षता सदा। राज्यभारनियुक्तानां ऐष धर्मस्सनातनः । (25 सर्ग)

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-03: सामन्तराज सन्धैश्च बलिकर्मभिरावृतं,
नानादेश निवासैश्च वणिग्भिरुपशोभितां । (5 सर्ग)

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-04: तथा जानपदस्यापि जनस्य बहुशोभनं,
दातव्यमन्नं विधिवत् सत्कृत्य न तु लीलया। अवज्ञया न दातव्यं कस्यचित्
लीलयापिवा, अवज्ञयाकृतं हन्यात् दातारं नात्र संशयः । (13 सर्ग)

Ramayanam, Aranya Kaanda-01: अधार्मः सुमहान् नाथ भवेत् तस्य तु
भूपतेः, यो हरेत् बलि षड्भागं न च रक्षति पुत्रवत्। यत् करोति परं धर्मं
मुनिः मूलफल अशनः, तत्र राज्ञः चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः । (6 सर्ग)

Ramayanam, Sundara Kaanda-01: स्वधर्मो रक्षसाम् भीरु सर्वथा ऐव
न संशयः, गमनं वा परस्त्रीणां हरणं सम्प्रमथ्य वा । (20 सर्ग)

RV-01: नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी ।

RV-02: हुद्रोगं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च आशु नाशय ।

RV-03: मोघं अन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः, सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य, नार्यमणं
पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी

RV-04: भूयसा वस्नमचरत्कनीयोविक्रीतो अकानिषं पुनर्यन्, स भूयसा कनीयो
नारिरेचीदीना दक्षा वि दुहन्ति प्र वाणं ।

RV-05: मा नो दुश्शम्स ईशता ।

TU-01: तन्मामवतु, तद्वक्तारमवतु, अवतु मां, अवतु वक्तारं । (तैत्तिरीय उपनिषत्)

TU-02: स्वाध्याय प्रवचने च । (तैत्तिरीय उपनिषत्)।

TU-03: सत्यं वद, धर्मं चर, स्वाध्यायात् मा प्रमदः, सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यं, धर्मान्न प्रमदितव्यं, कुशलान्न प्रमदितव्यं, भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यं, स्वाध्याय प्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यं, देवपितृ कार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यं, मातृदेवो भव, पितृदेवो भव, आचार्य देवो भव, अतिथिदेवो भव, यानि अनवद्यानि कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि, नो इतराणि । (तैत्तिरीय उपनिषत्)

TU-04: श्रद्धया देयं, अश्रद्धया अदेयं, श्रिया देयं, ह्रिया देयं, भिया देयं, सम्विदा देयं । (तैत्तिरीय उपनिषत्)

YS-AA-01: स्वधर्माच्चलितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत् पथि । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, आचार अध्याय)

YS-AA-02: यस्मिन् देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः, तथैव परिपाल्यः असौ यदा वशमुपागतः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, आचार अध्याय)

YS-GDP-01: अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचं इन्द्रिय निग्रहः, दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्म साधनं । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – गृहस्थ धर्म प्रकरणं)

YS-SPP-01: मानेन तुलया वापि यो अंशं अष्टमकं हरेत्, दण्डं स दाप्यो द्विशतं वृद्धौ हानौ च कल्पितं; भेषज स्नेह लवण गन्ध धान्य गुडादिषु, पण्येषु प्रक्षिपन् हीनं पणान् दाप्यस्तु षोडश । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, साहसे प्रासंगिक प्रकरणं)

YS-SPP-02: संभूय कुर्वतां अर्घं सबाधं कारुणिलिपिनां, अर्घस्य ह्रासं वृद्धिं वा जानतां दम उत्तमः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, साहसे प्रासंगिक प्रकरणं)

YS-SPP-03: संभूय वणिजां पण्यं अनर्घेण उपरुन्धतां, विक्रीणतां वा विहितो दण्ड उत्तमसाहसः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, साहसे प्रासंगिक प्रकरणं)

YS-SPP-04: राजनि स्थाप्यते यो अर्घः प्रत्यहं तेन विक्रयः, ऋयो वा निस्स्रवस्तस्माद् वणिजां लाभकृत् स्मृतः; स्वदेशपण्ये तु शतं वणिग् गृहीत पंचकं, दशकं पारदेश्ये तु यः सद्यः क्रयविक्रयी; पण्यस्य उपरि सम्स्थाप्य व्ययं पण्यसमुद्भवं, अर्घो अनुग्रहकृत् कार्यः क्रेतुर्विक्रेतुरेव च । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, साहसे प्रासंगिक प्रकरणं)

YS-VA-01: रागात् लोभात् भयात् वापि स्मृत्यपेताधिकारिणः, सभ्याः पृथक् पृथक् दंडाः विवादात् द्विगुणं दमं । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – व्यवहार अध्याय)

YS-VA-02: छलं निरस्य भूतेन व्यवहारान् नयेत् नृपः, भूतमपि अनुपन्यस्तं हीयते व्यवहारतः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – व्यवहार अध्याय)

YS-VA-03: दुर्दृष्टान्स्तु पुनर्दृष्ट्वा व्यवहारात् नृपेण तु, सभ्याः सजयिनो दंडाः विवादात् द्विगुणं दमं । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – व्यवहार अध्याय)

YS-VA-04: स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्याय्यस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः, अर्थशास्त्रात् बलवत् धर्मशास्त्रं इति स्थितिः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – व्यवहार अध्याय)

YS-VA-05: व्यवहारात् नृपः पश्येत् विद्वद्भिः ब्राह्मणैस्सह, धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण क्रोधं लोभं विवर्जितः । श्रुताध्ययनं सम्पन्नाः धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः, राज्ञा सभासदः कार्याः रिपौ मित्रे च ये समाः । (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति – व्यवहार अध्याय)

Appendix: Mulam

(Note: Sanskrit transliteration is according to the BARAHA software.)

aBij~jAna SAKuntalam (Abhignyaana Saakuntalam):

Abhignyaana Saakuntalam-5: *aviSramOyaM*

IOkatantrAdhikAraH/ ... BAnuH sakRudyukta turangaH Eva

rAtriM divaM gandhavahaH prayAti, SeShaH sadaivAhita

BUMiBAraH ShaShThAMSa vRuttErapi dharma EShaH/

Abhignyaana Saakuntalam-7: *BavanEShu rasAdhikEShu*

pUrvaM kShitirakShArthaM uSanti mE nivAsaM, niyata

EkatativratAni paSchAt tarumUIAni gRuhI Bavanti tEShaM/

AryA dwAdaSakam (AD):

AD-01: *nimiShArdheneka chaiva dve cha SatE dvE sahasrE*

dvE kramamaaNa yOjanaanaam/

Apastamba dharma sUtra (AS):

AS-2-01: *dhArmyagm SulkamavahAraYet; akaraH SrOtriyaH;*

sarvavarNanAm cha striyaH; kumArAScha

prAgvyamjanebhyaH; ye cha vidyArtha vasanti; tapasvinaScha

ye dharmaparAH; SUdraScha pAdAvanekTA; andha mUka

badhira rogAviShTAH; ye vyartha dravya parigrahaiH /

(Apastamba dharma sUtra, dvitIya praSnA, 26 adhyAya)

AS-2-02: *striBhyaH sarvavarNebhyaScha dharmaSEShAn*

pratIyAt (Apastamba dharma sUtra, dvitIya praSnA, 29

adhyAya)/

AS-2-03: *jAyApatyOH na viBAgO vidyatE (Apastamba dharma*

sUtra, dviteeya praSnA, 14 adhyAya)/

AUS-01: *nRupAyAM vidhinA viprAjjAtO nRupa iti smRutaH,*

nRupAyAM nRupasaMsargAt pramAdAt rUDhajAtakaH, sOpi

kShatriyaeva syAt aBiShEkE cha varjitaH/

bauddhAyana smRuti (BDS)

BDS-1-10-1: *ShaDbhAga BRutO rAjA rakShEt prajAM/*

(bauddhAyana smRuti)

BDS-2-6-17: brahmachArI gRuhashtO vAnaprasthaH
parivrAjaka iti/ (bauddhAyana smRuti)

Bagavad gItA (BG):

BG-01: svadharmE nidhanaM SreyaH, paradharmO
BayAvahaH / (Bagavad gItA)

BartRuhari (BHS):

BHS-01: tuMgaM vESma, sutAH satAM abhimataH,
saMkhyAtigAH sampadaH, kalyANI dayitA, vayaScha navaM,
iti aj~jAnamUDhO janaH, matvaa viSvaM anaSvaraM niviSatE
saMsAra kArAgRuhE, sandRuSyA kShaNabhaMguraM
tadakhilaM dhanyastu sannasyati/ (BartRuhari-vairAgya
Satakam)

BHS-02: sarvam vastu bhayAnvitaM bhuvi nRuNAM,
vairAgyamEva abhayaM (BartRuhari-vairAgya Satakam)

BUpAla manDanaM (BM):

BM-Introduction: rAjA rAShTrakRutaM pApaM, rAjapApaM
purOhitaH/

BM-1-22: prajAkShemAya bhUpAlaM rakShanti karuNAkarAH/

BM-1-75 & 76: sasyAdi dhwaMsane setubhedane
daahakarmaNi, drohakarmANYapi tathaa ChedanE
tarusantateH, yat dOShAdikaM AdiShTaM tatra
daMDakarO bhavEt/

BM-1-89 & 90: mArgAdi sthApanE dakShaH sasyakShetrAdi
kAryakRut, taTAka ArAmakartA cha prajaanaam hitadAyakaH,
... devatAgAra kAryANi svayaM vA sachivAdibhiH,
deSakAlAnukUlAni kAryet kAryasiddhikRut/

BM-1-94: nAnAvidha dravyadAyI vaNigbhiH vividhaiH pure,
nAnArupEShvapi grAmeShvapi sarvam hitArthinAM/

BM-1-96: satyavrataH satyavAdI satyadharma paraakramaH/

BM-1-104: paradArAlOkanAdi vimukhO/

BM-1-136: kShatra dharma paritrAtA BavEt BUpAlasattamaH/

BM-2-3 & 5: *nA viShNuH pRuthivInAthaH dikpAlAMSa
virAjitaH, tejOnidhiH dharmamUrtiH satyamUrtiH
kRupAkaraH/ sarvadhA mAnanIyaH asau prajAnAm
hitakRunnrupaH, sa eva janakastAsAm prajAnAm parikIrtitaH/
nRupeNa dhriyatE dharmah dharmat prANisukhAdikaM/*
BM-2-9: *satyadharmaparO yatra dESE vasati BUpatiH, tasmin
varShati parjanyaH, mEdinee sasyaSAlinI/*
BM-2-144: *nrupaM vinA na rAjyaSrIH SobhatE bahuBUShaNA/*
BM-2-145: *dEvAnAM pratimA rakShAkarmANYapi
druDhavrataH/*
BM-2-149: *putravat pitRuvat kAryakAleShu hitadAyinaH/*
BM-2-153: *prajAkShemAya kalpyantE kAlE kAlE hitakriyAH/*
BM-2-188 to 190: *vairiBUpa prajAH pAlyAH svapraja iva
BUmpaiH, doShasmaraNaM EtEShAM viphalAya viniSchitaM,
khaniH pAlyAH svadESESu paradESESu vaa tathA, tannASE
tu mahAdOShaH niSchitaH SAstralOchanaiH, ataH
sarvaprayatnEna khanipAlanamIritaM, rakShyam siMhAsanaM
tadvat navaratna vibhUShitaM/*
BM-2-193 to 203: *hradakulyA nadIkulyA taTAKOttha kvachit
tathA, rakShANIyA viSeShENa nRupaiH sasyaatha siddhayE,
apAm AgamanaM tatra nirgamaM chApi kAryEt, jalASayam
vA sAdhAraM rakShayEt yuktito nRupaH, girisAnau girEH
pArSvE girimUrdhani vA kvachit samabhUmau nadItIrE
saikata srAvapUrakE, jalanEtrANi SAstraj~jaiH nirdiShTani
manIShibhiH, tadrakShaNam cha kathitaM mahAkShemAya
bhUtAlE, jalameva paraM prANaH prANinAmiha niSchitaM,
sasyavRuddhiH jalairEva SuddhiSchApi tathA mataM, tad
dhAturAdyA sruShTirhi sarvakShemAya niSchitA, bhUgarbhE
sA praviShTA tu brahmaNA hitakAriNA, kvachit UrdhvaM
kvachit neechaiH jalaM sravati nityaSaH, bhUgarbhaM
anusrutya evaM saikatAdikam Eva cha, SilAsrAvaH kvachit
druShTaH rasastu vividhO mataH, paMchAnAmapi bhUtAnAm
EvamEva sthitikramaH, iti niSchitya bhUpAlaH prajAnAm
hitakRut bhavEt, sasyavRuddhikarANAMcha
dhanavRuddhikRutAmapi, hitakRut bhUpatirIOkE gIyatE
SIghaAdaraMannaM brahma samAdiShTam annAt jIvati
mAnavaH, annenaiva havImShi drAk kalpyantE*

*devatuShTayE, tat sasyAdhInaM AdiShTaM tasya AdhArastu
pArthivaH, ataH sarva prayatnEna nRupeNa nayachakShusA,
sasyavRuddhiH sasyarakShA prANirakShA cha bhUtaIe,
kAryEti niyamAtI/*

BM-2-312: *puMsAM strINAmapi tathA vyavasthAkRut bhavEt
nRupaH, SAstrAbhyAsaH kvachit kalpyaH, SAstrAbhyAsaH
kvachit tathA/*

BM-2-323: *prabalaiH durbaAnAM tu yathA pIDA na jAyatE,
tathA vyavasthAkRut bhUpaH SObhatE nitarAM bhuvi/*

BM-2-360: *brAhmaNAH kShatriyA vaiSyAH SUdrA ye cha
kRuShIvaIAH/*

BM-2-405 & 407: *kAIAtikramaNE dOShaH sarvatra kila
niSchitaH, ... ,kAIAtikramakRut rAjA niShphalO nindyatE
budhaiH/*

BM-3-112: *bAlIkAnAM cha bAlAnAM kinkarANAmapi kvachit,
kAryanirvahaNArthaya tAM vidyAM vardhayEt nRupaH/*

bRuhaspati artha SAstra sUtra (BPS):

BPS-1-19: *bahu na cha sraganulepau/*

BPS-1-45: *pUrvAcharitaM dharmam anujIvi sakhyam amAtya
j~jAti suhRut bAndhavAn samaM paSyEt/*

BPS-2-35: *EvaM pAShanDa samparkaM manasApi na kuryAt/*

BPS-2-43: *nItEH phalaM dharmartha kAmAvAptiH/*

BPS-2-49: *guruSAsanaM kAryamEva viruddhaM dharmENApi,
pAMDava vivAhamiva, arjunasya sannyaAsamiva, vyAsa
vidhavAgamanamiva, karNOTpAdanamiva, rAma
mAtRuvadhamiva/*

BPS-2-50: *nItiviyuktaH putra iva SatRuH/*

BPS-2-73 & 74: *guruvachanaM alaMghanIyaM nayAnugataM
chEt, gurumapi nItiviyuktam nirAsayEt/*

BPS-3-6: *bahuvAdaM madhuramEva kuryAt/*

BPS-3-50 & 51: *anya rAShTrajAn dvijAn kShatrabandhUn
kumArasAmantAdIn Atmavat sambhAvayEt, bhOjana
AcChAdanAdibhiH/ SaraNagataM sarvapAtakayuktamapi
rakShEt/*

BPS-3-134: *karmabhUmau bhAratE manuShyaiH bahavO
dEvAH/*

BPS-3-148: *viruddha dharma varNa veShA danDanIti varjitAH,
paSyanti prajA anRutavAda tatparAH/*

BPS-4-30, 34 & 35: *bandhubhiH bAndhavaiH hitaiH
bahuSRutaiH dhIrailH saha yat karmaArabhatE taduttamaM/
aikamatyEna danDanIti netrENa dhIrailH mantribhiH yO
mantraH, sa uttamaH/ pUrvam bahubuddhayaH paSchAt
EkamatayO bhavanti yatra sa madhyamaH/*

BPS-5-10, 11, & 12: *j~jAtInAM j~jAtayO vyanE hRuShyanti/
j~jAtiM j~jAtayaH pracChannahRudayAH krUrA upadravanti/
sarvabhayEShu j~jAtibhayaM ghOrAM/*

BPS-6: *dhanamUlaM jagat/ arthaM ArjayEt/ yasya
artharASirasti, tasya mitrANi dharmaScha vidyA cha
guNavikramau cha buddhiScha/ adhanEna arthaM ArjayituM
na SakyatE gajO agajEnEva/ nirdhanO mRuta chaMDAlaScha/*

bRuhaspati smRuti (BS):

BS-62 & 63: *yastaDAkaM navaM kuryAt purANaM vApi
khAnayEt, sa sarvaM kulaM uddhRutya svargE IOkE
mahIyatE/ vApI kUpa taDaagAni udyAna upavanAni cha,
punaH saMskArakartA cha labhatE maulikaM phalaM/
(bRuhaspati smRuti)*

chamakam-4: *UrkchamE, sUnRutAchamE, payaSChamE,
rasaSChamE, ghRutaMchamE, madhuchamE, sagdhiSChamE,
sapItiSChamE, kRuShiSChamE, vRuShTiSChamE,
jaitraMchamE, audbhidyamchamE, rayiSChamE, rAyaSChamE,
puShTaMchamE, puShTiSchame, vibhuchamE, prabhuchamE,
bahuchamE, bhUyaSChamE, pUrNaMchamE,*

*pUrNataramChamE, akShitiSchamE, kUyavASchamE,
annaMchamE, akShuSchamE, vrIhayaSchamE, yavASchamE,
mAShASchamE, tiASchamE, mudgASchamE, khalvASchamE,
godhUmASchamE, masurASchamE, priyaMgavaSchamE,
aNavaSchamE, SyAmAkASchamE, nIvArASchamE, kalpatAM/*

chANakya nIti (CN):

CN-01: *varaM na rAjyaM na kurAja rAjyaM, ... kurAja rAjyEna
kutaH praja suKaM! (chANakya nIti)*

CN-02: *pRuthivyAM trINi ratnAni, jalaM annaM suBAShitam/*
(chANakya nIti)

CN-03: *tyajanti mitrANi dhanairvihInaM dArAScha BRutyAScha
suhRujjanAScha, taM cha arthavantaM punarASrayantE
arthOhi lOkE puruShasya bandhuH/ (chANakya nIti)*

CN-04: *daridrasya viShaM gOShTI/ (chANakya nIti)*

CN-05: *na bandhumadhyE dhanahIna jIvanaM/ (chANakya
nIti)*

CN-06: *dhaninaM nirdhanaM chaiva nirdhanaM dhaninaM
vidhiH (karOti)/ (chANakya nIti)*

CN-07: *AtmAparAdha vRukShasya phalAnyEtAni dEhinAM,
dAridrya rOga duHKAni bandhana vyaasanAni cha/ (chANakya
nIti)*

CN-08: *dAridrya nASanaM dAnaM/ na cha dharmO dayA
aparaH/ (chANakya nIti)*

G-01: *ayam nijaH parO vEtti gaNanaa laghuchEtasAM,
udAracharitAnAM tu vasudhaika kuTumbakam/*

garuDa purANaM (GP)

GP-01: *suKasya duHKasya na kOpi dAtA, parO dadAtIti
kubuddhireShA, svayaMkRutaM svEna phalEna yujyatE, SarIra
hE nistara yattvayA kRutaM/*

hitOpadESam (HU)

HU: *vArAMganEva nRupanItiH anEkarItiH/ (BartRuhari nIti
Satakam cha)*

jAbAla smRuti (JS)

JS: *brahmacharyaM parisamApya gRuhI bhavEt, gRuhI bhUtva vanI bhavEt, vanI bhUtva pravrajEt; yadi vEtarathA brahmacharyaAdEva pravrajEt gRuhAdvaa vanAdvA/* [quoted in Pullela (2003)].

kauTilya artha SAstra (KA):

KA-AP-01: *'alpAyatiSchEt mahAvyayO bhakShayati, viparyayE yathAyativyayaScha na bhakShayati' iti AchAryAH; apasarpEnaiva upalabhyEta iti kauTilyaH/* - (*kauTilya arthaSAstra - adhyakSha prachAra -upayukta parIkSha*)

KA-AKK-01: *AkaraprabhavaH kOSaH, kOSAt danDaH prajAyatE, pRuthivI kOSadanDAbhyAM prApyatE kOSabhUShaNA - (kauTilya artha SAstra - adhyakSha prachAra- AkarakarmAnta pravartanaM)/*

KA-KS-01: *janapadaM mahAntaM alpapramANaM vA adevamAtRukaM prabhUtadhAnyAM dhAnyasyAMSaM tRutIyaM chaturthaM vA yAchEta, yathA sAraM madhyamavaraM vA; durga-sEtu-karma-vaNik-patha-SUNyaniveSa-Kani-dravya-hasti-vana-karmOpakAriNaM pratyantaM alpapramANaM vA na yAchEta; dhAnyA paSu hiraNyAdi niviSamAnAya dadyAt; chaturthamaMSaM dhAnyAnAM bIjabhakta SuddhaM cha hiraNyEna krINiYAt/* (*kauTilya artha SAstra - yOgavRuttaM - kOSABi saMharaNaM*)

KA-VR-01: *kAruSilpinAM karmaguNapakarShamAjIvaM vikrayakrayOpaghAtaM vA sambhUya samutthApayatAM sahasraM danDaH; vaidEHakAnAM vA sambhUya paNyaM avarundhatAM anarghENa vikrINatAM vA sahasraM danDaH; tulAmAnAntaraM arghavarNantaraM vA dharakasya mAyakasya vA paNamUlyAt aShTabhAgAM hastadOSheNAcharatO dviSatO danDaH; tEna dviSatOttara danDavRuddhiH vyAkhyAtA; dhAnyA snEha kShAra lavaNa gandha bhaiShajya dravyANAM samavarNOPadhAnE dvAdaSapaNo danDaH; yannisRuShTam upajIvEyuH tadEShaM divasa saMjAtaM saMkhyAya vaNik sthApayEt;*

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*krEtRu vikretrOH antarapatitaM AdAyAt anyat bhavati; ...
 anuj~jAtakrayAdupari chaiShAM svadESIyAnAM paNyAnAM
 paMchakaM SataM AjIvaM sthApayEt, paradESIyAnAm
 daSakaM/ (kauTilya artha SAstra - kaNTaka Sodhanam -
 vaidehaka rakShaNaM)*

*KA-VR-02: paNyabAhulyAt paNyAdhyakShaH sarvapaNyAni
 EkamukhAni vikrINIta; tEShu avikrItEShu nAnyE vikrINIran;
 tAni divasa vEtanEna vikrINIran anugrahENa prajAnAM/
 (kauTilya artha SAstra - kaNTaka Sodhanam - vaidEhaka
 rakShaNaM)*

mantra puShpam:

*yOpAM puShpaM vEda, puShpavAn prajAvAn paSumAn
 bhavati, chandramAvA apAM puShpaM, puShpavAn prajAvAn
 paSumAn bhavati, ya evaM vEda, yOpAM AyatanaM vEda,
 AyatanavAn bhavati/ (Note: 'puShpavAn' implies virile person
 and also sun & moon).*

mahABAratam (MB):

*MB-AP-01: vEtrakIya gRuhE rAjA nAyaM nayaM ihAsthitaH,
 anAmayaM janasyAsya yEna syAt adya SASvataM/ Etat arhA
 vayaM nUnaM vasAmO durbalasya yE, viShayE nityaM
 udvignAH kurAjAnaM upASritAH. .. rAjAnaM prathamam
 vindEt tatO bhAryAM tatO dhanaM, trayasya saMchayE
 chAsya j~jAtIn putrAMScha dhArayEt/ viparItaM mayA
 chEdaM trayaM sarvaM upArjitaM. .. na cha mE vidyatE vittaM
 saMkrEtum puruSham kvachit/ - mahABAratam, Adi parva.
 MB-AP-02: na chApi aniShTaH putro mE yadi putra SataM
 bhavEt/ - mahABAratam, Adi parva.*

*MB-ARP-YP-01: SRuNu yakSha kulaM tAta na svAdhyAyO na
 cha SRutaM, kAraNaM hi dvijatvE cha vRuttamEva na
 saMSayaH/ - mahABAratam, AraNyaka parva, yakSha praSnA
 MB-ARP-YP-02: mRutO daridraH puruShO mRutam
 rAShTramarAjakaM / - mahABAratam, AraNyaka parva,
 yakSha praSnA/*

MB-ASP-01: *arakShitAraM hartAraM viloptAraM adAyakaM, taM sma rAjakaliM hanyuH prajAH saMbhuYya nirGRuNaM/ ahaM vO rakShitEti uktvA yO na rakShati bhUmipaH sa saMhatya nihantavyaH sveva sOnmAda AturaH/ pApaM kurvanti yat kiM chit prajA rAj~jA hi arakShitAH chaturthaM tasya pApasya rAjA bhArata vindati/ apyAhuH sarvam EvEti bhUyOrdhaM iti niSchayaH chaturthaM mataM asmAkaM manoH SRutvAnuSasanaM/ SubhaM vA yat prakurvanti prajA rAj~jA surakShitAH chaturthaM tasya puNyasya rAjA chApnOti bhArata/ - mahABAratam, anuSasana parva.*

MB-ASP-02: *triShu lokEShu sarvatra pUjito yas taDAgavAn/ ... dharmasyArthasya kAmasya phalaM Ahur maneeShiNaH, taDAgaM sukRutaM dESE kShEtraM Eva mahASrayaM/ devA manuShya gandharvAH pitarOraga rAkShasAH, sthAvarANi cha bhUtAni saMSrayanti jalASayaM/ durlabhaM salilaM taata viSeSheNa paratra vai, pAnIyasya pradAnEna prItir bhavati SASvatI/ sarvadAnair gurutaraM sarvadAnair viSiShyate, pAneeyaM naraSardUla tasmAd dAtavyaM Eva hi/ - mahABAratam, anuSasana parva.*

MB-ASP-03: *puShpitAH phalavantaScha tarpayantiIha mAnavAn vRukShadaM putravat vRukShAstArayanti paratra cha/ tasmAt taDAgE vRukShAvai rOpyAH SrEyO arthina sada putravat paripAliaScha putrAs tE dharmataH smRutAH/ - mahABAratam, anuSasana parva.*

MB-ASP-04: *achintitam anuddiShTaM asaMkalpitaM Eva cha rasaM gRuddhyAbhibhUta vai praSaMsanti phalArthinaH praSaMsA hi Eva mAMsasya doShakarmaphalAnvita duShkaraM hi rasaj~jEna mAMsasya parivarjanaM/ - mahABAratam, anuSasana parva.*

MB-ASP-05: *na bhakShyati yO mAMsaM na hanyAt na cha GAtayEt taM mitraM sarvabhUtAnAM manuH svAyambhuvO abravIt/ - mahABAratam, anuSasana parva.*

MB-ASP-06: *chartuM vrataM idaM SrEShTaM sarvaprANi abhayapradaM sarvabhUteShu yO vidvAn dadAti abhayadakShiNAM dAta bhavati loKE sa prANAnAM nAtra saMSayaH/ EvaM vai paramaM dharmaM praSaMsanti*

*manIShiNaH, prANA yathAtmanO abhIShTA BUtAnAM api tE
tathA, Atmaupamyena gantavyaM buddhimadbhiH
mahAtmabhiH mRutyutO bhayam astIti viduShAM bhUtim
icChatAM/ kiM punaH hanyamAnAnAM tarasA jIvitArthinAM
arOgAnAM apApAnAM pApaiH mAMsOpajIvibhiH/ -
mahABAratam, anuSAsana parva.*

*MB-ASP-07: striyOhi mUlaM dOShaNAM laghu chittAH/ -
mahABAratam, anuSAsana parva.*

*MB-ASP-08: ahiMsA paramO dharmaH tathA ahiMsA paraM
tapaH, ahiMsA paramaM satyaM tatO dharmaH pravartatE/ -
mahABAratam, anuSAsana parva.*

*MB-ASP-09: ahiMsA satyaM akrodha AnRuSaMSaM damas
tathA ArjavaM chaiva rAjendra niSchitaM dharmalakShaNaM/ -
mahABAratam, anuSAsana parva.*

*MB-SBP-01: kacchit arthEna vA dharmaM dharmENa arthaM
athApi vA, ubhau vA prItisArENa na kaamena paribAdhase;
kacchit arthaM cha dharma cha kAmaM cha jayatAm vara,
viBajya kAle kAlaj~ja sadA varada sevase/ - mahABAratam,
saBA parva.*

*MB-SBP-02: samaScha na abhiSankyaScha yathA mAtA yathA
pitA/ - mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

*MB-SBP-03: kacchit parakRutayaH sat tena luptA
BaratarShaBa, AdhyAs tathA vyaSinaH svanuraktAScha
sarvaSaH/ - mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

*MB-SBP-04: kacchit sahasraiH mUrkhANAM ekam krINasi
panDitaM, panDitOhi arthakRucCheShu kuryAt niSSreyasaM
paraM/ - mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

*MB-SBP-05: kacchit balasya Baktam cha vEtanaM cha
yathOchitaM, samprApta kAlaM dAtavyaM dadAsi na
vikarShasi/ kAlAtikramaNAt dhyEtE Bakta vetanayOH BRutAH,
BartuH kupyanti daurgatyAt sa anarthaH sumahAn smrutaH/ -
mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

*MB-SBP-06: kacchit puruShakArENa puruShaH karmaSOBayan
labhate mAnaM adhikaM bhUyO vA Bakta vetanaM/ -
mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

MB-SBP-07: *kacchit puShTAH kRuShIvalAH/ kacchit rAShTre taDAgAni pUrNani mahAnti cha, BAgasO viniviShTani na kRuShiH deva mAtRukA/ kacchit bIjaM cha BaktaM cha karShakAya avasIdate, pratikaM cha Satam vRuddhyA dadAsya RuNaM anugrahaM/ kacchit svanuShTitA tAta vArtA te sAdhuBirjanaiH? - mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

MB-SBP-08: *kacchit Ayasya cha ardhenA chaturbhAgena vA punaH, pAdabhAgaiH tribhiH vApi vyayaH samSOdhyate tava/ - mahABAratam, saBA parva.*

MB-SNP-01: *ahiMsArthaya BUtAnAM dharma pravachanaM kRutaM, yaH syAd ahiMsA saMyuktaH sa dharma iti niSchayaH/ - mahABAratam, SAnTi parva.*

MB-SNP-02: *yadA bhUtapRuthagbhAvaM ekastham anupaSyati, tata eva cha vistAraM brahma saMpadyate tadA/ te janAnAM gatiM yAnti na avidvAMsO alpachetasaH na abuddhayO na atapasaH, sarvaM buddhau pratiShThitaM/ - mahABAratam, SAnTi parva.*

MB-SNP-03: *naShTe dhane vA dAre vA putre pitari vA mRute, ahO kaShTam iti dhyAyan SOkasyApachitiM charet/ sa kiM SOchasi mUDhaH saMSochyaH kiM anuSOchasi, paSyA duHKeShu duHKAni bhayeShu cha BayAni api/ AtmApi chAyaM na mama sarvApi pRuthivI mama, yathA mama tathAnyeShAM iti paSyAn na muhyati/ SOKasthAna sahasrANi harShasthAna SatAni cha, divase divase mUDhaM AviSanti na panDitaM/ EvaM etAni kAlena priya dveShyAni BAgasAH, jIveShu parivartante duHkhAni cha suKAni cha/ duHkaM evAsti na sukhaM tasmAt tad upalaByate, tRuShnArti prabhavaM duHkaM duHKArti prabhavaM sukhaM/ suKasyAnantaraM duHkaM duHKasyAnantaraM suKaM, na nityaM laBate duHKam na nityaM laBate suKaM/ suKaM ante hi duHkaM ante suKasya cha, tasmAd etad dvayaM jahyAd ya icChet cha SASvataM suKaM/ yannimittam Bavet SOKas tApO vaa duHKamUrcChitaH, AyasO vApi yan mUlaH tad ekAMgaM api tyajet/ suKaM vA yadi vA duHkaM priyaM vA yadi vA apriyaM prAptaM prAptaM upAsIta hRudayena aparAjitaH/ - mahABAratam, SAnTi parva.*

MB-UP-VN-01: *prAyENa SrImatAM IOkE BoktuM Saktirna vidyatE, jIryatyapi hi kAShThAni daridrANAM mahIpatE/ - - mahABAratam, udyOga-prajAgara parva, vidura nIti.*

MB-UP-VN-02: *EkaH sampannamaSnAti vastE vAsaScha SOBanaM, yO asaMviBajya BRutyEByaH kO anRuSaMsataraH tataH/ chatvAri tE tAta gRuhE vasantu SriyABijuShTasya gRuhastha dharmE, vRuddhO j~jAtiH avasannaH kulInaH saKA daridrO BaginI cha anapatyA/ - mahABAratam, udyOga-prajAgara parva, vidura nIti.*

MB-UP-VN-03: *avRuttirBayaM antyAnAM madhyAnAM maraNAt BayaM, uttamAnAM tu martyAnAM avamAnAt paraM BayaM/ - mahABAratam, udyOga-prajAgara parva, vidura nIti.*

MB-UP-VN-04: *traya Eva adhanA rAjan BAryA dAsastathA sutah, yattE samadhigacChanti yasya tE tassya taddhanaM/ - mahABAratam, udyOga-prajAgara parvE cha, vidura nIti.*

manu smRuti (MS):

MS-1-86: *dAnamekaM kalau yuge/*

MS-2-6: *vEdaH akhilO dharma mUlaM, ... AtmanaH tuShTireva cha/*

MS-2-112: *dharmarthau yatra na syAtAM suSRUSHAvApi tadvidhA, tatra vidyA na vaktavyA, Subham bIjaM ivOShare/*

MS-2-157: *yathA kAShThamayO hastI, yathA charmamayO mRugaH, yaScha viprO anadhIyAnastrayaste nAma visrati/*

MS-2-224: *dharmarthavuchyate SreyaH, kAmArthau, dharma eva cha, artha eveha vA SreyaH, trivarga iti tu sthitiH/*

MS-2-238 & 240: *SraddhadhAnaH SuBAM vidyAM AdadIta avarAdapi, antyAdapi paraM dharmaM strIratnaM duShkulAdapi/ striyO ratnAnyathO vidyA dharmaH SauchaM suBAShitaM, vividhAnicha SilpAni samAdeyAni sarvataH/*

MS-3-76: *agnau prAstAhutiH samyag Adityam upatiShThate, AdityAjjAyatO vRuShTiH, vRuShTerannaM tataH prajAH/*

MS-3-77 & 78: *yathA vAyuM samASritya vartante sarva jantavaH, tathA gRuhashtam ASritya vartante sarva ASramaH / yasmAt trayOpi ASramiNO j~jAnena annena chAnvahaM, gRuhashtenaiva dhAryante tasmAt jyeShThASramO gRuhI/*
MS-3-116 to 118: *Buktavatsvatha vipreShu sveShu bhRutyeShu chaivahi, bhuMjIyAtAm tataH paSchAt avaSiShTaM tu dampatI / devAn RuShIn manuShyAnScha pitRUn gRuhyaScha devatAH, pUjayitvA tataH paSchAt gRuhashtaH SeShabhuk Bavet / aGaM sa kevalaM Bunkte yaH pachati Atma kAraNat/*

MS-4-176: *parityajEt arthakAmau yau syAtAm dharmavarjitau, dharmam chApi asuKOdarkaM IOkavikruShTamEva cha/*

MS-5-48: *nAkRutvA prANinAM hiMsAM mAMsaM utpadyate kvachit, na cha prANivadhaH svargyaH tasmAt mAMsaM vivarjayet/*

MS-6-35: *RuNani trINi apAkRutya manO mOkShe niveSayet, anapAkRutya mOkShaM tu sevamAnO vrajatyadhaH/*
MS-6-92: *dhRutiH kShamA damOstEyaM SauchaM iMdriyanigrahaH, dhIH vidyA satyamakrOdhaH daSakaM dharm lakShaNaM/*

MS-7-3: *arAjake hi IOkesmin sarvatO vidrute BayAt, rakShArthamasya sarvasya rAjAnaM asRujat prabhuH/*
MS-7-20: *yadi na praNayed rAjA daMDaM daMDyeShu avatandritaH, Sule matsyAniva apakShyan durbaAn balavattarAH/*
MS-7-54: *sachivAn sapta cha aShTau vA prakurveta parIkShitAn/*
MS-7-144: *kShatriyasya parOdharmaH prajAnAmeva pAlanaM/*

MS-8-14 & 15: *yatra dharmOhyadharmeNa satyaM yatra naanRutena cha, hanyate prekShamANAnAM hatAstatra saBASadaH/ dharm eva hatO hanti dharmO rakShati*

*rakShitaH, tasmaat dharmO na hantavyaH mAnO dharmO
hatOvadhIt/*

MS-8-17: *Eka eva suhRut dharmO nidhanepi anuyAti yaH,
SarIreNa samaM nASaM sarvamanYaddhi gacchati/*

MS-8-85: *manyante vai pApakRutO na kaSchit paSyatIti naH,
tAnstu devAH prapaSyanti svasyaiva antarapUruShaH/*

MS-8-170: *anAdEyaM nAdadIta parikShINOpI pArthivaH,
nachAdeyaM samRuddhOpI sUkShmapyArthaM utsRujEt/*

MS-8-216: *Arttastu kuryAt svasthaH san
yathABAShitamAditaH, sa dIrghasyApi kAlasya tallabhetaiva
vetanaM/*

MS-8-219: *yO grAma deSa sanghAnAM kRutvA satyena
saMvidaM, visaMvadennarO IOBAntaM rAShTrAt vipravAsayet/*

MS-8-304: *sarvatO dharma ShaDBAgO rAj~jO bhavati
rakShataH, adharmadapi ShaDBAgO Bavatyasya hi
arakShataH/*

MS-8-307: *yO arakShan balimAdattE karaM SulkaM cha
pArthivaH, pratibhAgAM cha daMDaM cha sa sadyO narakaM
vrajEt/*

MS-8-399: *rAj~jaH praKyAta BAnDAni pratiShiddhAni yAni
cha, tAni nirharatO IOBAr sarvahAraM haret nRupaH/*

MS-8-407: *garbhiNI tu dvimAsAdistathaa pravrajitO muniH,
brAhmaNA linginaSchaiva na dApyAstArikaM tarE/*

MS-8-411: *kShatriyaM chaiva vaiSyAM cha brAhmaNO
vRuttikarSitau, viBRuyAt AnRuSaMsyena svAni karmANi
kArayan/*

MS-8-415: *dhwajAhRutO BaktadAsO gRuhajaH krItadatrimau,
paitrikO danDa dAsaScha saptaitE dAsayOnayaH/*

MS-8-418: *vaiSyA SUdrO prayatnEna svAni karmANi kArayEt,
tau hi chyatau svakarmabhyaH kShObhayetAM idaM jagat/*

MS-9-03, 11 & 26: *pitA rakShati kaumArE BartA rakShati
yuvanE, rakShanti sthaviRE putrAH na strI svAtantryaM
arhati/ arthasya saMgrahE chainAM vyayE chaiva
niyOjayet, SauchE dharma annapakUtyAM cha pArINAhyaSya
vaikShaNE/ prajAnArthaM mahABAgAH pUjArha gRuha*

*dIptayaH, striyaH SriyaScha gEheShu na viSeShOsti
kaSchana/*

MS-9-88, 89 & 90: *utkRuShTaya aBirupAya varAya
sadRuSAyacha, aprAptAmapi tAM tasmai kanyAM dadyAt
yathAvidhi/ kAmaM AmaraNAt tiShTet gRuhE
kanyartumatyapi, na chaivainAM prayacChettu guNahInAya
karhichit/ trINi varShANi udIkShEta kumArI RutumatI satI,
urdhvaM tu kAlAt etasmAt vindEta sadRuSam patim/*

MS-9-118: *svEBYOMSEByastu kanyAByaH pradadyuH
BrAtaraH pRuthak, svAtsvAdamSAT chaturBAGaM patitAH
syuH aditsavaH/*

MS-9-130 & 131: *yathaiva AtmA tathaiva putraH putrENa
duhita samA, tasyAM Atmani tiShTyantAM kathaM anyO
dhanaM harEt/ mAtustu yautakaM yat syAt kumArIBAGa eva
saH/*

MS-9-206: *vidyA dhanaM tu yadyasya tat tasyaiva dhanaM
BavEt/*

MS-9-221: *dUtam samAhvayaM chaiva rAjA rAShTrAt
nivArayEt, rAjyAntakAraNau etau dvau doShau
pRuthivIkShitAM/*

MS-9-280 to 284: *kOShThAgAra AyudhAgAra devatAgAra
BEdakAn, hasti aSva ratha haRtrumScha hanyAdEva
avichArayan/ yastu pUrvaniviShTasya taDagasya udakaM
harEt, AgamaM vApyapAm BindyAt sa dApyaH pUrva
sAhasaM/ samutsRujEt rAjamArgE yat svamEdhyamanApadi
sa dvau kArShApaNau dadyAt amEdhyaM cha ASu SodhayEt/
ApadgatO athavA vRuddhO garBiNI bAla eva vA,
paribhAShaNaM arhanti taccha Sodhyamiti sthitiH/*

MS-9-291 & 293: *abIjavikrayI chaiva bIjOtkRuShTaM tathaiva
cha, maryAdA BEdakaSchaiva vikRutaM prApnuyAd vadhaM/
sItA dravyApaharaNE SastrANAM auShadhasya cha,
kAlamAsAdya kAryaM cha rAjA danDaM prakalpayEt/*

MS-10-63: *ahiMsA satyamasteyaM SauchaM iMdriya nigrahaH,
etaM sAmAsikaM dharmaM chAturvarNye abravId manuH/*

MS-10-115 & 116: *saptavittAgamA dharmyAdAyO lABaH
krayO jayaH, prayOgaH karmayOgaScha satpratigraha eva*

*cha/ vidyA SilpaM BRutiH sEvA gOrakShyaM vipaNiH kRuShiH,
dhRutiH BaikShyaM kusIdaM cha daSa jIvanahEtavaH/
MS-10-117: brAhmaNaH kShatriyO vApi vRuddhiM naiva
prayOjayEt, kAmaM tu Kalu dharmarthaM kuryAt pApIyase
alpikAM/*

*MS-11-24, 25, 26: na yaj~jArthaM dhanaM SUdrAt viprO
BikShEta karhichit/ yaj~jArthaM arthaM BikShitvA yO na
sarvaM prayacChati, sa yAti BASatAM vipraH kAkatAM vA
SataM samAH/ devasvaM brAhmaNasvaM vA IObhEna
upahinasti yaH, sa pApAtmA parE IOkE gRudhrOcChiShTEna
jIvati/*

*MS-11-33 & 34: vAk Sastram vai brAhmaNasya tEna hanyAt
arIn dvijaH/ kShatriyO bAhuvIryENa tarEt ApadaM AtmanaH,
dhanEna vaiSyA SUdrau tu, japahOmaiH dvijOttamaH/*

*MS-11-40: hantyalpadakShiNO yaj~jaH, tasmAt na alpadhanO
yajEt/*

*MS-11-65: indhanArthaM aSuShkANAM drumANAM
avapAtanaM upapAtakaM/*

*MS-11-85: brAhmaNaH saMbhavEnaiva devAnAmapi
daivataM/*

MS-11-94: brAhmaNa rAjanyau vaiSyAScha na surAm pibEt/

*MS-11-143: phaladAnAM tu vRukShANAM ChEdane japyAM
Ruk SataM, gulma vallI latAnAM cha puShpitAnAM cha
vIrudhAM/*

*MS-11-145: kRuShTajAnAM oShadhInAM utpannAnAM
svayaM vane, vRuthAlamBE anugacChEt gAM dinamekaM
payOvrataH/*

nIti SAstraM (NTS):

*NTS-01: arthaH gRuHE nivartantE SmaSAnE mitrabAndhavaH,
sukRutaM duShkRutaM chaiva gacChantaM anugacChati/ (nIti
SAstraM)*

NTS-02: durbalasya balaM rAjA/ (nIti SAstraM)

*NTS-03: RuNaM yAchanA cha vRuddhatvaM jAra chOra
daridrata, rOgaScha RuNaSEShaScha aShTakaShTAH
prakIrtitAH/ (nIti SAstraM)*

NTS-04: *mAtA nindati nABinandati pitA BrAtA na saMBAShatE,
BRutyaH kupyati nAnugacChatishataH kAntAsinAlingatE,
arthaprArthana SaMkayA na kurutE sallApamAtraM suhRut
/ (nIti SAstraM)*

NTS-05: *kShudhAturANAM na ruchir na pakvaM/ (nIti
SAstraM)*

NTS-06: *adAnadoShENa BavEt daridrO dAridrya dOShENa
karOti pApaM, pApAt avaSyAM narakaM prayAti punaH
daridraM punarEva pApaM/ (nIti SAstraM)*

NTS-07: *arthanAM ArjanE duHKaM, ArjitAnAM cha rakShaNE,
ArjE duHKaM, vyayE duHKaM, kimartham duHKabhAjanaM/
(nIti SAstraM)*

NTS-08: *viprANAM j~jAnitO jyEShThaH, kShatriyANAM tu
vIryataH, vaiSyAnAM dhAnyadhanataH SUdrANAmEva
janmataH/ (nIti SAstraM)*

P-YS-01: *kAyika kAlika chaiva kAritA cha tataH para,
chakravRuddhiScha SAstrEShu tasya vRuddhiH chaturvidhA/ -
(Quoted by Pullela (2003) in Yajnyavalkya SmRuti,
Runaadaana Prakaranam)*

parASara smRuti (PS):

PS-1-22 & 23: *anyE kRutayugE dharmaH, trEtAyAM dvAparE
yugE, anyE kaliyugE nRuNAM yugarUpAnusArataH/ tapaH
paraM kRutayugE trEtAyAM j~jAnamuchyatE, dvAparE
yaj~jamEvAhuH, dAnamEva kalau yugE/*

PS-1-39: *saMdhyA snAnaM japO homO devatA atithi pUjanaM,
AtithyaM vaiSvadEvaM cha ShaTkarmANi dinE dinE/*

PS-2-2: *ShaTkarmasahitO vipraH, kRuShikarma cha kArayet/*

PS-2-3 & 4: *kShudhitaM tRuShitaM SrAntaM balIvardaM na
yOjayEt, hInAngaM vyAdhitaM kIibaM vRuShaM viprO na
vAhayEt/ sthirAngaM balIvardaH tRuptaM sunardaM
ShanDavarjitaM, vAhayEt divasasya ardhaM paSchAt snAnaM
samAcharEt/*

PS-2-12 & 13: *rAj~jE dattva tu ShaDBAgAM devAnAM cha
EkavimSakaM, viprANAm trimSakaM BAgAM sarva pApaiH*

*pramuchyate/ kShatriyOpi kRuShiM kRutvA devAn viprAnScha
pUjayEt, vaiSyah SUdrastathA kuryAt kRuShi vANijya
Silpakam/ chaturNAMapi varNanAM eSha dharmaH
sanAtanaH/*

PS-4-16: *daridraM vyAdhitaM mUrKaM BartAraM yA
avamanyate, sA SunI jAyatE mRutvA sUkarI cha punaH
punaH/*

PS-4-20: *yat pApaM brahmahatyAyAM dviguNaM
garbhapAtanE, prAyaSchittaM na tasyAH syAt tasyAH tyAgO
vidhIyatE/*

PS-4-22: *OGa vAtAhRutaM bIjaM yasya kShetre prarOhati, sa
kShetrI labhatE bIjaM na bIjI BAGamarhati/*

PS-7-36: *dESabhange pravAsE vA vyAdhiShu vyasaneShvapi,
rakShEdEva svadehAdi paSchAt dharmaM samAcharEt/*

PS-8-4: *avratAnAM amantrANAM jAtimAtrOpajIvinAM,
sahasraSaH samEtAnAM pariShatvaM na vidyatE/*

PS-8-6: *aj~jAtvaa dharmaSAstrANi prAyaSchittaM dadAti yaH,
prAyaSchittI bhavEt pUtaH, kilbiShaM parShadi vrajEt/*

PS-8-7: *chatvArO vA trayO vApi yaM brUyuH vEdapAragAH,
sa dharmEti vij~jEyO nEtaraistu sahasraSaH/*

PS-8-13: *munInAM AtmavidyAnAM dvijAnAM yaj~jayAjinAM
vEdavratEShu snAtAnAM EkOpi pariShad BavEt/*

PS-8-15: *... yE viprAH kEvalaM nAmadhArakAH pariShattvam
na tEShvasti sahasraguNitEShvapi/*

PS-12-46: *nyAyyOpArjita vittena kartavyaM hi
AtmarakShaNaM, anyAyyEna tu yO jIvEt sarvakarma
bahiShkRutaH/*

PS-12-51: *kuTuMbinE daridrAya SrOtriyAya viSeShataH, yat
dAnaM dIyatE tasmai tat dAnaM SuBakArakaM/*

PS-12-52: *vApI kUpa taDAgAdyaiH vAjapEya SatairmaKaiH,
gavAM kOTipradAnEna BUmiharta na Suddhyati/*

raGuvamSam (Raghuvamsam):

Raghuvamsam-1-1: *prajAnAM vinayAdhAnAt rakShaNAAt
BaraNAAdapi, sa pitA pitarastAsAM kEvalaM janmahEtavaH/
Raghuvamsam-1-2*: *prajAnAmEva BUtyarthaM sa tAByO
balimagrahIt, sahasraguNamutsraShTuM AdattE hi rasaM
raviH/*

Raghuvamsam-4: *nayavidBirnavE rAj~ji
sadasacchOpadarSitaM, pUrvam EvABavat pakShaH tasmin
nABavat uttaraH*

Raghuvamsam-5: *nivartyatE yairniyamABiShEkO yEByO
nivApAnjalayaH pitRUNAM, tAnyunCha ShaShTAnkita
saikatAni SivAni vastIrthajalAni kacchit/*

Raghuvamsam-17-01: *na dharmaM arthakAmABYAM babAdhE
na cha tEna tau, nArthaM kAmEna kAmaM vA sOrthEna
sadRuSastriShu/*

Raghuvamsam-17-02: *tapO rakShansa viGnEByaH
taskarEByaScha saMpadaH, yathAsvamASramaiH chakrE
varNairapi ShaDaMSaBAK/ KaniBiH suShuvE ratnaM kShEtraiH
sasyaM vanairgajAn, iti kramAt prayuMjAnO rAjanItiM
chaturvidhAM /*

Raghuvamsam-17-03: *vApIShiviva sravantiShu
vanEShUpavanEShviva, sArthaH svairaM svakiyEShu
chErurvESmasvivAdriShu/*

rAmAyaNaM (Ramayanam):

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-01: *kShatram
brahmamuKaMchAsIt vaiSyAH kShatramanuvratAH, SUdrAH
svadharmaniratAH trIn varNanupachAriNaH/ (6 sarga)*

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-02: *nRuSaMsam anRuSaMsaM vA
prajArakShaNAkAraNAAt, pAtakaM vA sadOShaM vA kartavyaM
rakShatA sada/ rAjyaBARaniyuktAnAM ESha
dharmassanAtanaH/ (25 sarga)*

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-03: *sAmantarAja sanghaiScha
balikarmaBirAvRutaM, nAnAdESa nivAsaiScha
vaNigbhirupaSoBitAM/ (5 sarga)*

Ramayanam, Baala Kaanda-04: *tathA jAnapadasyApi janasya
bahuSoBanaM, dAtavyamannaM vidhivat satkRutya na tu*

*IlayA/ avaj~jayA na dAtavyaM kasyachit IlayApivA,
avaj~jayAkRutaM hanyAt dAtAraM nAtra saMSayaH/ (13
sarga)*

*Ramayanam, Aranya Kaanda-01: adharmAH sumahAn nAtha
bhavEt tasya tu bhUpateH, yO harEt bali ShaDbhAgaM na cha
rakShati putrat/ yat karOti paraM dharmaM muniH
mUlaphala aSanaH, tatra rAj~jaH chaturBaagaH prajA
dharmENa rakShataH/ (6 sarga)*

*Ramayanam, Sundara Kaanda-01: svadharmO rakShasAm
BIru sarvathA Eva na samSayaH, gamanaM vA parastrINAM
haraNaM sampramathya vA/ (20 sarga)*

Rug vEda (RV):

*RV-01: nAryamaNaM puShyati nO sakhAyaM kEvalaaGO
bhavati kevalAdI/*

RV-02: hrudrOgaM mama sUrya harimANaM cha ASu nASaya/

*RV-03: mOGaM annaM vindatE aprachetAH, satyaM bravImi
vadha itsa tasya, nAryamaNaM puShyati nO sakhAyaM
kevalAGO bhavati kevalAdI/*

*RV-04: BUyasA vashnamacharatkanIyOvikrItO akAniShaM
punaryan, sa BUyasA kanIyO nArirEchIddInA dakSha vi
duhanti pra vANaM/*

RV-05: mA nO duSSamsa ISatA/

taittirIya upaniShat (TU)

*TU-01: tanmAmavatu, tadvaktAramavatu, avatu mAM, avatu
vaktAraM (taittirIya upaniShat)/*

TU-02: svAdhyAya pravachane cha (taittirIya upaniShat)/

*TU-03: satyaM vada, dharmaM chara, svAdhyAyAt mA
pramadaH, satyAnna pramaditavyaM, dharmanna
pramaditavyaM, kuSaAnna pramaditavyaM, BUtyai na
pramaditavyaM, svAdhyAya pravachanAbhyAM na
pramaditavyaM, dEvapitRu kAryAbhyAM na pramaditavyaM,
mAtRudEvO Bava, pitRudEvO Bava, AchArya dEvO Bava,*

*atithidEvO Bava, yAni anavadyAni karmANi tAni sevitavyAni,
nO itarANi/ (taittirIya upaniShat)*

TU-04: *Sraddhaya dEyaM, aSraddhaya adEyaM, SriyA dEyaM,
hriyA dEyaM, BiyA dEyaM, samvidA deyaM/ (taittirIya
upaniShat)*

yAj~javalkya smRuti (YS):

YS-AA-01: *svadharmacchalitAn rAjA vinIya sthApayEt pathi/
(yAj~javalkya smRuti, AchAra adhyAya)*

YS-AA-02: *yasmin dESE ya AchArO vyavahAraH kulasthitiH,
tathaiva paripAlyaH asau yadA vaSamupAgataH/
(yAj~javalkya smRuti, AchAra adhyAya).*

YS-GDP-01: *ahiMsA satyamastEyaM SauchaM indriya
nigrahaH, dAnaM damO dayA kShAntiH sarvEShaM dharma
sAdhanaM/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti - gRuhastha dharma
prakaraNaM)*

YS-SPP-01: *mAnEna tulayA vApi yO aMSaM aShTamakaM
harEt, danDaM sa dApyO dviSataM vRuddhau hAnau cha
kalpitaM; BeShaja snEha lavaNa gandha dhAnyA guDAdiShu,
paNyEShu prakShipan hInaM paNAn dApyastu ShoDaSa/
(yAj~javalkya smRuti, sAhase prAsaMgika prakaraNaM)*

YS-SPP-02: *saMbhuYa kurvatAM arGaM sabAdhaM
kAruSilpinAM, arghasya hrAsaM vRuddhiM vA jAnatAM dama
uttamaH/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti, sAhase prAsaMgika
prakaraNaM)*

YS-SPP-03: *saMbhuYa vaNijAM paNyaM anarghENa
uparundhatAM, vikrINatAM vA vihitO daMDa uttamasAhasaH/
(yAj~javalkya smRuti, sAhasE prAsaMgika prakaraNaM)*

YS-SPP-04: *rAjani sthApyatE yO arghaH pratyahaM tEna
vikrayaH, krayO vA nissravastasmAd vaNijAM IABakRut
smRutaH; svadESapaNye tu SataM vaNig gRuhNIta
paMchakaM, daSakaM pAradESyE tu yaH sadyaH
krayavikrayI; paNyasya upari samsthApya vyayaM
paNyasamudbhavaM, arGO anugrahakRut kAryaH*

*krEturvikretureva cha/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti, sAhase
prAsaMgika prakaraNaM)*

YS-VA-01: *rAgAt IOBA t BayAt vApi smRutyapetAdhikAriNaH,
saByAH pRuthak pRuthak daMDyAH vivAdAt dviguNaM
damaM/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti - vyavahAra adhyAya)*

YS-VA-02: *ChalaM nirasya BUtEna vyavahAraNa nayEt nRupaH,
BUtamapi anupanyastaM hIyatE vyavahArataH/ (yAj~javalkya
smRuti - vyavahAra adhyAya)*

YS-VA-03: *durdRuShTAnstu punardRuShTvA vyavahArAt
nRupeNa tu, saByAH sajayinO daMDyAH vivAdAt dviguNaM
damaM/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti - vyavahAra adhyAya)*

YS-VA-04: *smRutyOrvirOdhe nyAyyastu balavAn
vyavahArataH, arthaSAstrAttu balavat dharmaSAstraM iti
sthitih/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti - vyavahAra adhyAya)*

YS-VA-05: *vyavahArAt nRupaH paSyEt vidvadbhiH
brAhmaNaissaha, dharmaSAstrAnusAreNa krOdha IOBa
vivarjitaH/ SrutAdhyayana sampannaH dharmaj~jAH
satyavAdinaH, rAj~jA saBASadaH kAryAH ripau mitrE cha yE
samAH/ (yAj~javalkya smRuti - vyavahAra adhyAya)*

Appendix: History

B.C.:

642—413: Saisunaga Dynasty, 554: Pataliputra founded, 500: Conquest of the Indus Valley by Darius, 477: Death of Gautama Buddha, 413-321: Nanda Dynasty, 327-325: Alexander in India, 321-185: Chandragupta Maurya and the Dynasty, 305: Invasion of Seleukos and Treaty with Chadragupta, 300: Megasthenes' visit, 297: Bindusara, 274-237: Asoka, 262: Conquest of Kalinga, 253: Buddhist Council at Paptaliputra.

A.D.:

320: Chandragupta (of the Gupta Dynasty) becomes King, 330: Samudragupta becomes King, 375: Chandragupta II, 401-410: Fa-Hien in India, 550: Conflict between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, 570: Birth of Muhammad, 606-647: Harsha, 629: Hiuen Tsang in India, 712: Arab Conquest of Sind, 750: Chalukyas overthrown by the Rashtrakutas, 1001-1026: Majmud of Ghazni's Indian Expeditions, 1070: Accession of Kulottunga Chola, 1076: Accession of Vikramanka or Vikramaditya-VI. Chalukya. Vijnanesvar's Mitakshara.

Pandya dynasty: (6th century-1367). Prominent kings were originally in 3rd century itself Nedunchezian, later Kadungan in 6th century, Arikesari Madhava Varma (670-710), Kochadayan (710-735), Surya Varman Rajasimha (735-765), and Parantaka (765-815), Srimala Vallabha (815-862), 2nd Vara Guna Varma (862-880), then became saamantas-Cholas, then Jata Varma Kulasekhara reestablished the dynasty (1190-1216), again upheavals, then Jata Varma Sundara Pandya (1257-1268), and Kula Sekhara Pandya (1268-1310). The last one had two sons Sundara Pandya and

Vira Pandya. The former killed the father Kula Sekhara and enthroned himself. Vira Pandya unable-bear this sought help from Malik Kafur who came over, looted and returned. Mohd. Bin Tuglak finally won over Madurai and attached it to Delhi empire. End of the dynasty.

Kaakatiya dynasty: (1000-1323): Beta Raju (1000–1030), Prola Raju (1030-1075), 2nd Beta Raju (1107-1110), 2nd Prola Raju (1110-1158), Pratapa Rudra (1158-1195), Maha Deva (1195-1198), Ganapati Deva (1198/1209-1262), Rudrama Devi (1262-1296), and 2nd Pratapa Rudra (1296-1323). 2nd Pratapa Rudra was attacked by Malik Kafur. In total Muslims attacked Kaakatiyas 5 times. In 1323 when he lost-Muslims he committed suicide. End of the dynasty. However some left over splinter groups later established Nayaka and Reddy kingdoms.

Hoyasala dynasty: (1106-1342): Bittideva Vishnuvardhana (1106-1141), 2nd Ballala (1173-1220), 2nd Narasimha (1220-1234), Someswara (1234-1262), 3rd Ballala (1291-1342) killed by Madurai Sultan. The Hoyasala empire was taken over by Harihara-Bukka Rayalas and was annexed-the Vijayanagara empire.

Devagiri Yadava dynasty in Maharashtra: (1187-1318): 5th Bhillama (1187-1191), Jaitugi (1191-1210 – killed 1st Paratapa Rudra and Maha Deva, and imprisoned Ganapati Deva for 10 years in a war with Kaakatiyas), Singhana (1210-1247), Krishna (1247-1260), Maha Deva (1260-1270), Ramachandra Deva (1270-1309), Sankara Deva (1309-1312), and Harapala Deva (1316-1318) killed by the Muslim kings. End of the dynasty.

Bhakti cult: 12th-15th Century: Ramanuja, Nimbakara, Madhava, Ramaananda, Mira Bai, Vallabhaachaarya, Chaitanya, Vamadeva, Nanak Kabir etc.

Baanisa (Slave) dynasty: (1206-1290) was ruled by Kutub Uddin Aibak (1206-1210), Aram Shah (1210-1211), Il Tut Mich (1211-1236), Rukn Uddin Feroz Shah (1236), Sultana Razia (1236-1240), Ihram (1240-1242), Masud (1242-1246), Nasiruddin Mohammed (1246-1265), Ghiasi Uddin Balban (1266-1287), Kai Kubad (1287-1290), and Kayumars.

Khilji dynasty: (1290-1320): Jalal Uddin (1290-96), Allauddin (1296-1316), Shihub Uddin (1316), Kutub Uddin Mubarak (1316-1320), and Nasser Uddin.

Tuglak dynasty: (1320-1414): Gias Uddin Tuglak (1320-1325), Mohammed Bin (1325-1351), Feroz Shah (1351-1388), 2nd Gias Uddin (1388-1389), Abubakar (1389-1390), Mohammed Bin Feroz (1390-1391), Allauddin Sikandar (1394- 1395), and Nasiruddin Mohammed (1396-1413). The misrule of this dynasty was the cause for the establishments of Vijayanagara empire and Bahmani Sultanate.

Syed dynasty: (1414-1451): Khijir Khan (1414-1421), Mubarak Shah (1421-1434), Mohammed Shah (1434-1445), Allauddin Almshah (1445-1451)).

Lodi dynasty: (1451-1526): Bahlal Lodi (1451-1489), Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), and Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526)

Mewar (1303-1567): 1303: First Seige of Chitor by Ala-ud-din, 1517: Malwa conquered by Rana Samgram Singh, 1527: Rana Samgram Singh defeated by Babur, at Kanua, near Fathpur Sikri, 1534: Second Siege of Chitor by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 1567: Third Siege of Chitor by Akbar.

Reddy Kingdoms (1325-1424): (a) Kondavidu Reddys (1325-1424) were Prolaya Vema Reddy, Anapota Reddy, Anavema Reddy, Kumaragiri Reddy, and Pedakomati Vema Reddy. This dynasty ended when the Vijayanagara empire ultimately overwhelmed it. (b) Rajamahendravarma Reddys (1402 – 1417) were Kataya Vema Reddy and Virabhadra Reddy. This short time dynasty ended when the Kalinga empire overwhelmed it. These Reddys however did marvellous service promoting classical literature in Telugu.

Nayaka Kingdoms: (1336-1425): (a) Musunuri Nayakas (1336-1368) were Polaya and Kapaya Nayakas. (b) Recharla Padma Nayakas (1336-1425) were Singama and Anapota Nayadus. They ultimately succumbed-Bahmani Sultanate.

Vijayanagara empire (1336-1680): This empire was established in 1336 following the (mis)rule of the Tughlak dynasty. It had four phases: (a) Sangama Dynasty for 150 years (1336-1485), (b) Saluva dynasty for 20 years (1485-1505), (c) Tuluva dynasty for 71 years (1505-1576), and (d) Aravidu dynasty for 110 years (1570-1680). Krishna Deva Raya ruled during 1509-1530. Battle of Tallikota took place when four of the five Bahmani Sultanates colluded and attacked the empire. They looted the empire for 5 months non-stop. The empire ended in 1680 when some parts of it were won by Golkonda and Bahmani Sultanates, some parts by Tanjore and Madurai subordinates, and the rest by the Mysore Wodeyars.

Bengal (1345-1576): 1345: Ilyas Shah becomes independent King of the whole of Bengal, 1414: End of the dynasty of Ilyas Shah and assumption of sovereign power by Raja Ganesh, 1442: Dynasty of Ilyas Shah restored, 1492-1518: Ala-ud-din

Husain Shah, 1519-1532, Nasrat Shah, 1576: Bengal annexed-the Mughal Empire by Akbar.

Bahmani kingdom (1347-1659): 1347 : Following the (mis)rule of the Tuglak dynasty Bahmani Kingdom was founded by Zafar Khan (Ala-ud-din Hasan) with Gulbarga as capital. Ten kings ruled between 1347 and 1483. In 1481 Mahmud Gawan an important powerful minister was executed due-error of judgment. The kingdom witnessed eight more kings later, the last one being Kalimullah during 1524-27 and a contemporary-Babar. However, starting from 1484 itself it broke into five independent smaller regions. **Bijapur**: 1489: Foundation of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur by Yusuf Adil Khan, 1686: Bijapur annexed-the Mughal Empire by Aurangzeb. **Ahmadnagar**: 1498: Foundation of the Nizam Shahi dynasty by Ahmad Shah, 1598: Heroic resistance of Chand Bibi-the Mughal Army, 1637: Ahmadnagar annexed-the Mughal Empire by Shahjahan. **Golkonda**: 1512: Foundation of the Kutb Shahi Dynasty of Golkanda by Kuli Kutb Shah, 1687: Golkanda annexed-the Mughal empire by Aurangzeb. **Berar**: 1484: Foundation of the Imad Shahi Dynasty of Berar by Fathullah Imad Shah, 1574: Berar annexed by Ahmadnagar. **Bidar**: 1492: Foundation of the Barid Shahi Dynasty of Bidar by Kasim Barid, 1659: End of the dynasty and territory annexed by Bijapur.

Jaunpur (1360-1476): 1360: Foundation of Jaunpur, 1399: Independence of Jaunpur declared by Khwaja-i-Jahan's adopted son, Mubarak Shah, 1476: Husain Shah, the last independent King of Jaunpur overthrown by Bahlol Lodi.

Khandesh (1388-1601): 1388: Foundation of the Farooqi dynasty of Khandesh by Malik Raja Farooqi, 1601: Surrender

of Asirgarh fortress-Akbar. Khandesh made a Suba of the Mughal Empire by Akbar.

Gujarat (1401-1572): 1401: Declaration of Independence of Gujarat by Zafar Khan, 1411-1443: Ahmad Shah Foundation of Ahmadabad, 1459-1511: Mahmud Shah, 1507: Portuguese fleet defeated by Mahmud Shah at Chaul, 1509: Defeat of the Muhammadan fleet by the Portuguese, 1526-1537: Bahadur Shah, 1531: Annexation of Malwa, 1534: Siege of Chitor by Bahadur Shah, 1535: Bahadur Shah defeated by Humayun, 1537: Bahadur Shah killed by the Portuguese, 1572: Gujarat annexed-the Mughal Empire.

Malva (1401-1561): 1401: Declaration of Independence of Dilawar Khan Ghorī, 1436: Foundation of Khaji Dynasty of Sultan Mahmud Dhalji, 1440: Mahmud defeated by Rana Kumbha of Mewar, 1531: Malwa annexed by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 1561: Malwa annexed-Mughal Empire by Akbar.

Smaller Kingdoms (1434-1568): 1434: Ganga dynasty overthrown by Kapilenderadeva, 1540: The dynasty of Kapilenderadeva overthrown, 1568: Orissa annexed-Bengal.

Mysore Nayakas (1514-1761): Wodeyar, Chamaraj, Dodda Deva, and Chikka Deva Raya were the rulers. In 1761 the kingdom was taken over by Haider Ali.

Tanjore Nayakas (1535-1676): Chevvappa, Achyutappa, Raghunatha, Vijaya Raghava and Changamala Dasa were the kings. Finally succumbed-Bijapur Sultanate.

Madhura Nayakas (1609-1739): Muttu Veerappa, Tirumala, Chokka Nayaka I and II. Finally succumbed-Karnataka Nawabs.

Sikh Prophets (1469-1715): Guru Nanak, Angada, Amar Das, Rama Das, Arjuna Singh, Hari Govind, Hararai, Hara Krishna, Tej Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh, and Banda Bahadur.

Earlier Mughal empire (1526-1707): Babur (1526–1530), Humayun (1530-40 & 1555-56), Akbar (1556-1605), Jahangir (1605-1627), Shahjahan (1627–1658), Aurangazeb (1658–1707). Shahjahan and Aurangazeb were unlike Akbar notorious for their hatred towards non-Islmic religions. The former destroyed 80 temples in just Banaras alone, while the latter destroyed 235 temples in Udaipur. Other places where such destructions occurred were Ujjain, Madhura, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Ayodhya, Bijapur, Kathiawad, Aurangazeb banned public celebration of several Hindu festivals.

Sher Shah (1540-55): 1540: Battle of Kanauj, defeat and flight of Humayun, 1542: Enthronement of Sher Shah, 1545: Death of Sher Shah, accession of Islam Shah, 1553: Muhammad Shah Adil, 1555: Restoration of Humayun.

Sivaji: Sivaji born in 1628, 1674: enthronement as independent king at Raigarh, died in 1680; his son Sambhuji was killed by Mughals in 1689. The lineage continued with Rajaram, Tara Bai, Sahu, Ramaraja, Sahu-II, Pratap Sinha, and Shahji Appa, up-1848.

Later Mughal empire (1707-1857): Shah Alam Bahadur Shah (1707-1712), Jahandar Shah (1712-1713), Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719), Rafi-ud-darajit (1719), Rafi-ud-daula (1719), Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), Ahmed Shah (1748-1754), Alamgir II (1754-1759), Shah Alam II (1759-1806), Muhammad Akbar II (1806-1837), Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857). In 1739, i.e. during the rule of Muhammad Shah, the Persian emperor Nadir Shah attacked, and plundered Delhi

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killing lakhs of people, looted crores of Rupees, and carried away with him the peacock throne, Kohinoor diamond, invaluable gems, and lot of gold and silver. Shah Alam having been defeated by the British, who were already commanding Bengal, surrendered-them the rights of revenue collection in Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. The British exiled Bahadur Shah II-Rangoon where he died in 1862. Thus the Mughal era ended.

Peshwas (1714-1819): Balaji Visvanath Bhatt (1714–20), Baji Rao I (1720-40), Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61), Madhav Rao I (1761- 72), Narayan Rao (1772 – 73), Madhava Rao II (1774 – 95), Baji Rao II (1795-1818), and Nana Saheb (1819).

Europeans in India: 1600: Formation of the English East India Company, 1650: Trading Settlement at Hughli, 1664: Establishment of the French East India Company, 1674: Foundation of Pondicherry, 1690: Trading Settlement at Kalighat, 1742: Dupleix appointed Governor of Pondicherry, 1757: Battle of Plassey, 1764: Battle of Buxar. These two battles established and consolidated the British rule in India.

1770-1785: Famine in Bengal (1770), Warren Hastings becomes first Governor General, measures of reform, The Regulating Act, Supreme Court at Calcutta, cession of Benares-the Company, occupation of French Settlements in India, Braithwaite defeated by Tipu Sultan, death of Haidar Ali, Pit's India Bill, resignation of Hastings.

1786-1800: Cornwallis, John Shore, and Wellesley as Governors-General, impeachment and trial of Hastings beings, treaty of Seringapatam, permanent settlement in Bengal. death of Tipu, Mysore restored-the Hindu dynasty, annexation of Surat and Tanjore, death of Nana Farnavis.

1801-1835: Annexation of the Carnatic and the Ceded Districts of Oudh, capture of Aligarh, cession of Cuttack, George Barlow acts as Governor-General, mutiny at Vellore, treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh, renewal of the Company's Charter, Hastings as Governor-General, war with Nepal, treaty of Sagauli, Pindari War, first vernacular newspaper published, capture of Asirgarh, end of Maratha war, Burmese war, fall of Bharatpur, treaty of Yandabu, William Bentinck as Governor-General, abolition of Sati, suppression of thugs, annexation of Cachar, Rajah of Mysore deposed, renewal of the Company's Charter, measures of reform, annexation of Coorg, foundation of medical college, Education Resolution.

1836-57: Tripartite Treaty, death of Ranjit Singh, Afghan war, annexation of Sind, Gwalior army defeated, Sikh war, treaty of Lahore, battles of Chilianwallah and Gujarat, annexation of Punjab, Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi annexed through the Doctrine of Lapse, first Indian Railway opened, renewal of the Company's charter, annexation of Oudh, Canning as Governor-General, outbreak of the mutiny of the Bengal army.

1858-1947: Act for the Better Government of India, Queen's proclamation, Indian mutiny ends, Canning's Peace Proclamation, withdrawal of the Doctrine of Lapse, enactment of the Indian Penal Code (1860), High Courts in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1861), famine in Oudh and Orissa, great famine in Bengal (1874), deposition of Gaikwar of Baroda, Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India (1877), Vernacular Press Act, repeal of Vernacular Press Act, Local Self-Government for India, Bengal Tenancy Act, Indian National Congress at Bombay, Indian Councils Act, plague in Bombay, widespread famine, death of Queen Victoria, N.W.F. Province created, Indian Universities Act, partition of Bengal, Coronation Durbar at Delhi, George V crowned

Emperor of India, Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, Swaraj Party formed, V.J. Patel the First Elected President at the Legislative Assembly, Simon commission appointed, Civil Disobedience Movement started, Round Table Conference in London.

1947: India's independence.

Sources: Rapson E.J. (1914), Sambasiva Rao K. (1980), H.C. (1938), and several others.

End Notes

¹ Sanskrit words except common names and nouns such as Rama, Bharata etc. have been transliterated according to the BARAHA software code.

² *smRuti*: something remembered, and *SRuti*: something heard or listened. These are the basic scriptures for Hinduism. *dharma sUtra-s*, *gRuhya sUtra-s* and *Srauta sUtra-s* coming under them prescribe certain rules of conduct and procedures for performing rituals which are in principle supposed to be inviolable. People of different regions come under the influence of different scriptures. For example, in South India some Brahmins are *Rug-vEdI-s*, some are *kRuShNa* and *Sukla yajur-vEdI-s* and some are *sAma vEdI-s*. Even in the present times the *Rug-vEdI-s* do not accept the other *vEdic* procedures; *yajur-vEdI-s* do not accept *sAma vEdic* procedures. For proper identification, individuals refer to themselves in a manner such as (for example): "*BArgava, chyavana, Apnuva, aurava, jAmadagni panchArShEya pravarAnvitaH, SrIvatsa gOtraH, kRuShNa yajuSSAKAdhyAyI, Apastamba dharma sUtraH, Sarma aham ...*". For non-brahmins not all the prescribed rules and procedures are according to the scriptures.

³ These include translations of *Apastamba*, *gautama*, *vasiShTha*, *bauddhAyana smRuti-s* by Georg Buhler (1872 & 1882), *bRuhaspati sUtra* by F.W.Thomas (1921), parts of *hari vamSam* by David Henry Thoreu (1932), *vishNu purANam* by H. H. Wilson (1840), *garuDa purANam* by Ernest Wood (1911), The Minor Law Books (*nArada* and *bRuhaspati sUtra-s*) by Julius Jolly (1889), *pancha vimSa brAhmaNa* by W. Caland (1931), *sAnKya* Aphorisms by James R. Ballantyne (1885), and many others including *vEdic* Hymns by Max Muller (1891) and Hermann Oldenberg (1897). William Jones translated *manu smRuti*. Also see 'A Digest of the Hindu Law' by West Raymond and Abdul Majid's (1919), *yAj~javalkya smRuti* by Montriou Edward Roer W.A. (1859), 'Religion of the Hindus' by H. H. Wilson (1862), *laukika nyAyAnjali* by G. A. Jacob (1911), 'A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage' by Mayne John Dawson (1880), 'A Manual of Hindu Law' by Standish Grove Grady (1871), 'Elements of Hindu Law' by Strange (1825), 'An Epitome of Some Hindu Law Cases' by Coghlan William Mant (1876), 'The Hindu Law of Adoption' by Rattigan William Henry (1873), etc. including Colebrooke's works.

⁴ Ghoshal (1923) discusses in detail the history of Hindu political theories.

⁵ See Ham and Hill (1984), Schott (1984), etc. for more details.

⁶ Russell Hardin (1997) provides a review of these theories.

⁷ This may be contrasted with the theory of migration under Haris-Toadaro (1970) model.

⁸ It indicates that slaves were available in those days for sale and purchase.

⁹ Much of the following discussion has been drawn from Subrahmanian (1976 & 1980), and Narayana (2011).

¹⁰ It is a pity that sciences, social sciences and humanities have become a kind of victims during this process.

¹¹ In some *purANic* stories when the king offered land after performing rituals, sages refused to accept.

¹² For *nArada*, and *bRuhaspati smRuti-s* see Jolly Julius (1889).

¹³ This was enunciated in the context of illegitimate offspring.

¹⁴ PS-6 suggests expiations of different sorts for the sin of killing various animals and birds (this is a long list). However this part of the treatise has a lot of material on untouchability and purification processes which were perhaps not appreciated even in ancient times. PS-8 and PS-9 elaborate on the sin of harming or killing cows.

¹⁵ *AdhyAtmika* should not be confused with *adhyAtmika*. *Adhi* means disease (as in *vi+Adhi* = *vyAdhi*) or cause. *adhi* means something beyond/above (as in *adhipati* or *adhyakSha*); thus *adhyAtmika* means philosophical about something beyond self / soul.

¹⁶ *pAtanjala yOga SAstra* has a different classification.

¹⁷ Chandragupta who was reared to be the king was not a Kshatriya. Thus Kautilya violated *SAstra*.

¹⁸ The following discussion is based on what is reported in Sambasiva Rao (1980), H.C (1938), and Spear (1978).

¹⁹ He already destroyed temples in Ayodhya in 1193.

²⁰ Sri Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, considered himself a human being – *AtmAnam mAnuSham manyE (rAmAyaNam)*.

²¹ Readers may remember what Ravana said to Seeta – see the section on *dharmasankaTam*, above.

²² Discerning readers may compare Kamran's attitude towards his brother Humayun with Bharata's attitude towards Rama, in *rAmAyaNam*. Bharata instead of closing Ayodhya for Rama went into forests hoping to bring him back to the throne (section on Family & Inheritance, above).

²³ The same applies to Islam also. Christianity by this time had to encounter both Hinduism and Islam in India.

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